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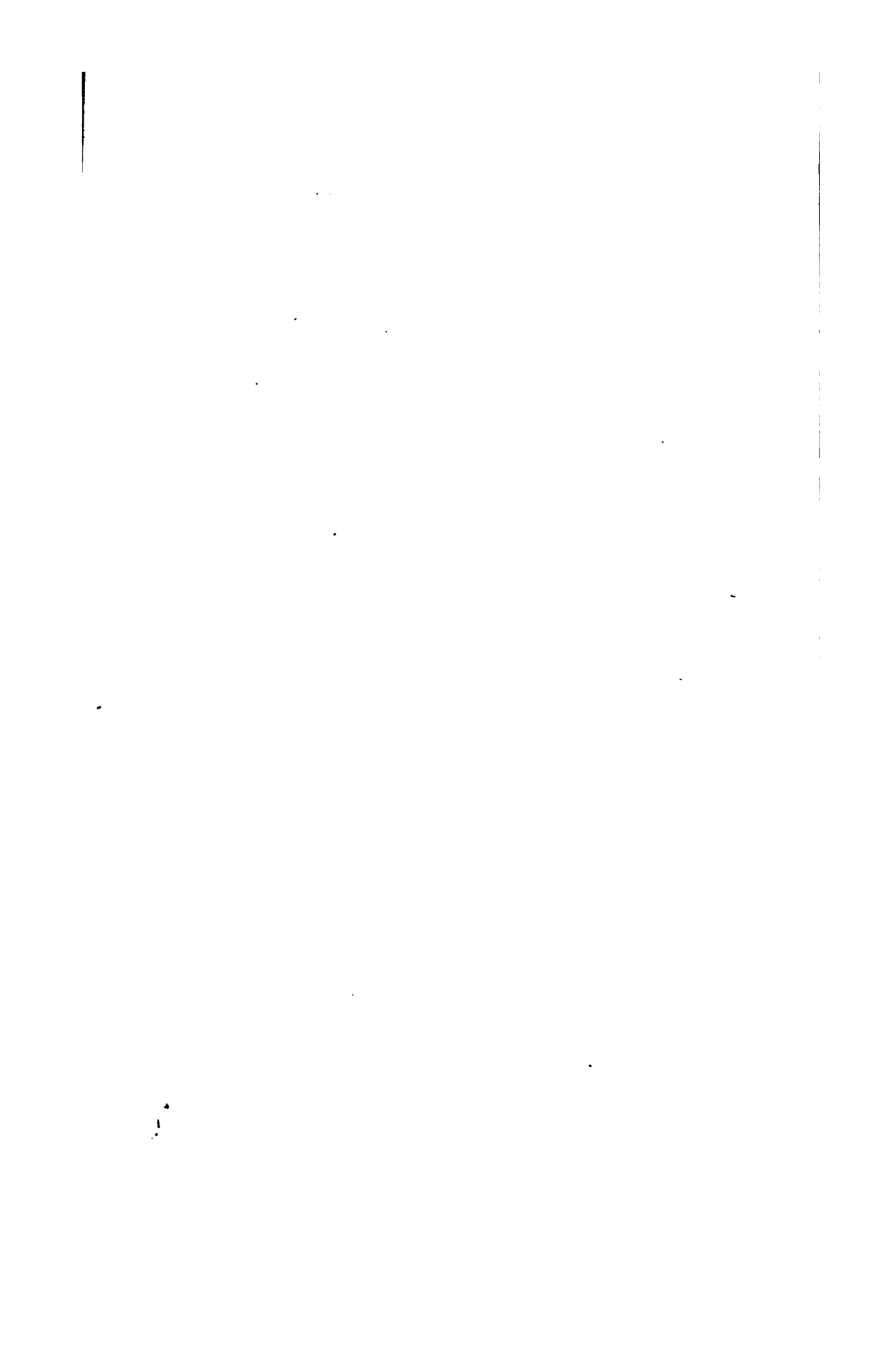


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LIVES
OF
ILLUSTRIOUS AND DISTINGUISHED
IRISHMEN.

LIVES
OF
ILLUSTRIOUS AND DISTINGUISHED
IRISHMEN,
FROM
THE EARLIEST TIMES TO THE PRESENT PERIOD,
ARRANGED IN CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER
AND EMBODYING A
HISTORY OF IRELAND IN THE LIVES OF IRISHMEN.

EDITED BY
JAMES WILLS, A.M.T.C.D., M.R.I.A.,
Author of Letters on the Philosophy of Unbelief, &c., &c., &c.

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THE MOST AUTHENTIC SOURCES, AND ENGRAVED BY EMINENT ARTISTS.

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The Hon.^{ble} Robert Boyle.

Engraved by G. Kneller from an Original Portrait.

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Hugh Curwin, Archbishop of Dublin.

DIED A. D. 1568.

CURWIN, a native of Westmoreland, a doctor of laws in Oxford, and dean of Hereford, was appointed by queen Mary to succeed Browne in 1555. He was at the same time appointed chancellor in Ireland. At the close of the year he held a synod, in which some arrangements relative to the rites and ceremonies of the church were constituted. In connexion with this Cox states, that "afterward, the church goods and ornaments were restored, and particularly those belonging to Dublin and Drogheda." "And although," says the same writer, "many glebes contained lay fees during all the reign of queen Mary; yet at the request of cardinal Pale, her majesty restored the possessions of Kilmainham."

In 1556, we are informed by Mr Dalton, that a commission was appointed to make an account of the value and condition of church possessions in this diocese of Dublin, and that similar commissions were issued for the other dioceses. All statutes from the twentieth year of Henry, which had been against the church of Rome, were at the same time repealed, saving the authority of the British throne and laws. Former enactments against the reformers, who were included under the denomination of heretic, were revived; and other legal provisions were made for the restoration of the ancient state of things as regarded the affairs of religion.

The accession of queen Elizabeth, which happily interrupted the changes in their course, did not alter the condition of Curwin; who, with a latitude of conscience not to be commended, at once accommodated his principles to the demand of the varying hour; and in 1557, was appointed one of the lords-justices with Sir Henry Sidney, and continued in the office of chancellor. In 1559, the office of lord-keeper of the great seal of Ireland was added to his honours. He was a second time chancellor in 1563; and in 1567, feeling the rapid encroachments of old age on his personal strength, he sought and obtained his translation to the see of Oxford, where he died in the following year.

Adam Loftus, Archbishop of Dublin.

DIED A. D. 1605.

THIS prelate has a more than ordinary claim upon our notice as the zealous promoter, and the first provost of Trinity college near Dublin, an institution which has conferred more real and lasting benefit on Ireland, than all others taken together; and which when justly estimated by its intrinsic merits as a repository of knowledge, and a centre for the diffusion of sound learning and principle, will, in the history of learning, be hereafter considered to stand at the head of the universities of Europe—being second to none in the cultivation of

every branch of profane literature, and first of all in its proper and peculiar function as the great seminary of the principles of the church of England. Such being the great claim of Loftus on the commemoration of history, we shall do him the justice, to dwell but lightly on those parts of his life which are nothing more than the ordinary incidents of his time, and proceed with a rapid hand to this main transaction which sheds particular honour on every name with which it is connected.

Loftus was, according to Ware, born at Swineshead in Yorkshire, of an ancient and respectable family, and received in his youth a more careful and costly education than was usual in his time. He became soon distinguished for talent and literary accomplishment; and on some public occasion had the good fortune to win the admiration of the queen, by his striking display of logical and rhetorical talent, when, with her characteristic promptitude, she marked him for distinction, and encouraged his youthful ambition to effort by promises of speedy advancement.

The queen kept her promise, and never lost sight of the distinguished youth until an opportunity occurred, when she was sending lord Sussex over as lieutenant of Ireland, on which Loftus was sent over as his chaplain; and but little time elapsed when another mark of favour indicates the favourable impression, which his early promise made on one so keen in her discernment of merit. In 1561, he was appointed by letters patent to the rectory of Painestown in Meath, and the following year, by one wide step elevated to the see of Armagh in the room of Dowdal. On this incident, Harris remarks, that "the Irish protestant bishops derive their succession through him, without any pretence to cavil, for he was consecrated by Curwin, who had been consecrated in England according to the forms of the Romish pontifical, in the third year of queen Mary."

In 1564 he was elected to the deanery of St Patrick's by royal license, on the consideration of the insufficiency of the revenues of the see of Armagh, "his archbishopric being a place of great charge, in name and title only to be taken into account, without any worldly endowment resulting from it." In 1566 he was joined by the clergy of Armagh in excommunicating Shane O'Neale, who burned "the metropolitan church of Ardmagh; saying he did it lest the English should lodge therein." In the same year he took his doctor's degree in Cambridge, and was soon after translated to Dublin.

In 1572 he obtained a dispensation from the queen to hold with his archbishopric any sinecures not exceeding £100 in annual value. In 1573 he was appointed chancellor, and held the office during his life. In 1582, and again in 1585, he was one of the lords-justices.

We pass the particulars of his unhappy quarrel with Sir John Perrot, as not essential to the main purpose of this memoir. It mainly originated in the archbishop's determined resolution in preserving the cathedral of St Patrick's from being converted into a university to the prejudice of certain rights of his own. The design thus resisted, was one the frustration of which might well be counted a stain on the memory of Loftus, had it not been fortunately wiped away by an ample and honourable compensation. The cathedral of St Patrick's

was preserved to the church in its ancient venerable character, and the university was soon after instituted by the zealous instrumentality of the archbishop.

The full importance of this institution is too great to admit of its being discussed at the termination of this series, where it may escape the attention of the greater portion of our readers. We shall presently have an occasion to enter on the subject at length. The history of the foundation is briefly as follows:—

Such an institution had previously, at different periods of the Anglo-Irish history, been attempted, but in vain; the troubles of the country were too rife, and the want insufficiently felt: the desire of knowledge is itself a result of intellectual cultivation. This desire was one of the chief influences of the Reformation in England; of which, as we shall hereafter more fully explain, learning was soon found to be an indispensable requisite. But in Ireland the necessity of some native centre of an academical character became strongly perceptible. The necessity of looking in England for ministers for the churches, and of supplying the deficiency by the employment of illiterate persons, grew to be felt as an evil of serious magnitude. To supply the demand of a church essentially connected with knowledge, had become a necessity which at the time strongly pressed itself on every cultivated mind. The call was felt with a force, which has no expression on the cramped page of the annalist. It was indeed the ripeness of time; but, like all the events of time, chiefly traceable to incidental causes, and the underworking agents, whose names are made illustrious by changes which must have occurred if they had not been born.

Loftus having effectually resisted the plan of Sir John Perrot, which was to convert St Patrick's church into law courts, and apply its revenues to the foundation of a university, applied to the queen in favour of another scheme for that desirable end. For this purpose he pitched on the ancient monastery of All-hallows, on Hoggin Green, near Dublin. It had been founded by Dermot MacMurragh for Aroasian monks in 1166, and been richly endowed, not only by the founder, but also by the illustrious Milo de Cogan. Its possessions were confirmed by the charter of Henry II. On the dissolution of the monasteries, the site of this monastery had been granted to the corporation of Dublin. From this body it was now obtained by the assiduous representations of the archbishop, who told them that the act would be "of good acceptance with God, of great reward hereafter, and of honour and advantage to yourselves, and more to your learned offspring in the future; when, by the help of learning, they may build your families some stories higher than they are, by their advancement either in the church or commonwealth." The representations of Loftus had the influence due to their truth; and the city consented to a slight sacrifice of property, which was to be compensated by advantages more important to Dublin and the country, than they or their adviser could well appreciate at the time. They granted the monastery with its precincts.

Loftus next deputed Henry Usher and Lucas Chaloner to England, to apply for a charter and license for the mortmain tenure of the lands granted by the city. This may be regarded as a matter of

course, and the deputies quickly returned with the queen's warrant for letters patent under the great seal of Ireland, dated 29th December, 1591, for the incorporation of a university, with power to hold the lands granted, with other endowments, to the value of £400 per annum. The university was thus incorporated, "by the name of the provost, fellows, and scholars, of the holy and undivided Trinity of Queen Elizabeth, near Dublin," who were thus duly qualified to acquire and hold the lands, tenements, and hereditaments, to themselves and their successors for ever, with certain legal provisions now unimportant. Their privilege to teach the liberal arts in Ireland was exclusively vested in them, and the license granted to confer degrees. They were empowered to make laws for their own internal government—a privilege afterwards revoked. The number of the members was limited to a provost, three fellows, and three scholars, and their functions and privileges were fully defined and guarded.*

Loftus was appointed first provost; Henry Usher, Lucas Chaloner, and Launcelot Moyne, fellows; and Henry Lee, William Daniel, and Stephen White, scholars;—the first representatives of a body, which was in the course of time to produce James Usher, King, Berkely, Young, Hamilton, as its members, with a host of other not inferior names, which shed the honours of literature and science around their country's name.

The erection of the college was next to be effected. To obtain the necessary fund, circular letters were issued by the lord-deputy (Fitz-William) and the council to the Irish nobility and gentry, representing the importance of the foundation to literature and the reformed church. A contribution was thus obtained; and in 1593 the building was finished for the reception of its inmates. The Ulster rebellion, under Hugh, earl of Tyrone, had an unfavourable influence on its growth, as its principal endowments lay in the north. But the zeal and bounty of Elizabeth, under Providence, carried it through this severe trial which menaced ruin to its infant state; and, in the language of Leland, himself one of its illustrious ornaments, "it struck its roots securely amid the public storms, and, cultivated as it was by succeeding princes, rose to a degree of consequence and splendour disproportioned to its first beginnings."†

King James endowed this foundation with large grants in Ulster. And Charles I., distinguished among the kings of England for his love and munificent patronage of all the arts, followed liberally in the same course. By his patent the foundation was enlarged; the fellows were increased to sixteen, and the scholars to seventy; the laws improved by the repeal of some, and the enactment of other provisions. Amongst these, one has more especially struck us as a judicious change; by the charter of the queen it was provided that the fellows were to resign their fellowships at the expiration of seven years from their election. Such a regulation, by no means so inexpedient in the infant state of such a community, was obviously inconsistent with the furtherance of its interests or uses in a more advanced stage of learning.

* Letters Patent of Charles I., in which the first patent is recited.—*Coll. Stat.*

† Leland, who was a senior fellow, about 1771.

While it is to be admitted that one of the main benefits conferred on society, results from the circulation of the fellowship and the multiplication of academical offspring thus produced, it is equally evident that a regulation calculated to diminish the advantages to be sought for by a most arduous course of study, must have essentially destroyed the intent, so far as the production and circulation of scholars was an object. No man, whose intellect was in sound order for any useful purpose, would sink his better days in a course of learned labour, to be thrown aside like worn-out books when their better days were spent. It would be found, save by a very few, that life is short to be consumed over the study of the arts; and most men would shrink from a sacrifice thus to be crowned by deprivation. From the consideration of this defect, remedied in the patent of Charles, will appear the consummate wisdom of the provision which secures to society the advantage contemplated in the first arrangement, without the counter-acting evil, and secures the continual circulation of the fellowship, by the creation of a beneficial interest to compensate the resignation of a functionary whose office has been hardly earned. This object is secured by benefices and professorships in the gift of the university, which, when they become vacant, are disposed of to such of the members as desire them, who thereby vacate their fellowships.

In 1637 a new charter from king Charles was accompanied by a body of statutes, which, with several modifications, are still the laws of the university. We shall, a little farther on, take up this interesting subject, in its further and more general bearings on Irish literature and civilization. On the ecclesiastical state of Ireland its effects were rapid and decisive; and it appears, from the statements of Spencer, that the reformation in Ireland can scarcely be said to have commenced, until its influence was felt in an improvement of the education of churchmen.

We now return to the provost. In 1597 he was appointed one of the lords-justices; and again, in 1599, at the close of this year, he was appointed one of the counsellors to the president of Munster.

In 1603, he died in his palace at St Sepulchre's, and was buried in St Patrick's church. He had been forty-two years a bishop. Mr Dalton, from whose work on the *Archbishops of Dublin* we have received valuable assistance in this and some other of our ecclesiastical series, concludes his account of Loftus with the remark, "that Anne, the second daughter of this prelate, was married to Sir Henry Colley of Castle Carbery, and from that union have descended the present marquis of Wellesley and the duke of Wellington."

III.—LITERARY SERIES.

[The editor begs to apologize to the Irish historical student, for the omission of numerous eminent poets and historians of this period. So little is known of their personal history, that he could not avoid the consideration, that the space they must have occupied in this series would be altogether too much for a popular work, and would be regarded as objectionable by the numerous readers who cannot be assumed to look beyond the amusement of a leisure hour. A small selection has been made of those most noticed by antiquarian writers: or which are noticeable for any special circumstances. To the general reader it may be observed, that all the persons here mentioned, were illustrious in their day, and have some claim to be so still. Their writings are extant, and form a curious and unique department of national literature. Of some of these we can offer no further account than the mention of their works; and a few are withheld, because we shall have to notice their writings more at large under the general head of Irish literature.]

Mal Suthain O'Carroll.

DIED A. D. 1009.

MAL SUTHAIN O'CARROLL, is remarkable for having been the writer who commenced the *Annals of Innisfallen*. Of these important documents we shall have occasion to give some account at a later period. Generally speaking, the more important portions of the literature of this and several following centuries, can only be viewed with advantage, in their collective character, and in those later times, when their record closes and the history of their transmission (the most important question in which they are concerned,) comes before us:—Of the general history of the literature of this period, we shall find room to give some account under the lives of Scotus and John Sacrobosco. During the greater part of the period, literature must be considered as on the decline in Ireland. There nevertheless wanted not accomplished Irish scholars in every department then existing. The following small selection from numerous names, exhibit the fact that poetry at least was not wanting.

Of the illustrious O'Carroll, we can only add, that he was not only one of the most learned monks of the island, but of his time, and had the added distinction of high birth. He died, according to the *Four Masters*, in the year 1009.

Mac Liag.

DIED A. D. 1015.

IRELAND, of all countries in the world, is best entitled to the appellation of the "Land of Song," from her early writers being almost invariably poets, and verse having been selected as the easiest and simplest medium for conveying their thoughts, whether the topic was religion, war, or individual history. Among these, Mac Liag takes a very

prominent place, being honoured by the title of "chief poet of Ireland," besides being the friend and chief antiquary of Brian Boroimhe. He was the son of Conkeartach, a doctor or professor of some eminence, and early became a favourite with his royal master, whose "fifty battles" he enthusiastically commemorates, and whose triumphant fall on the plains of Clontarf, he so pathetically, but proudly details. His chief writings are "the Munster Book of Battles," which gives the most authentic detail of the encounters with the Danes, down to the battle of Clontarf; a life of Brian Boroimhe; a poem of an hundred and sixty verses upon the descendants of Cas, son of Conal Each Luath, king of Munster; and one of nearly the same length, on the twelve sons of Kennedy, father of Brian Boroimhe; also three separate poems, lamenting the fall of Brian, and strongly expressive of his own personal grief on the event; one beginning, "Oh Cinn-coradh, where is Brian;" another, "Westward came the fall of Brian;" and the last, which was written in the Hebrides, where Mac Liag went after the death of Brian, begins, "Long to be without delight," and bitterly mourns over his own lost happiness, and the desolation of Cinn-coradh. His death took place, according to the Four Masters, in 1015.

Erard Mac Coisi.

DIED A. D. 1023.

ERARD MAC COISI, one of the historians of Ireland, and "chief chronicler of the Gaels," carried on a literary contest of some length with Donough, son of Brian Boroimhe, in the course of which Donough asserts the superiority of his father, and the Munster troops over Maolseachlainn, in a poem of an hundred and ninety-two verses, while Erard, who was secretary to the Leinster king, contends with equal warmth for the more doubtful pre-eminence of his own master. He died in Clonmacnoise in the year 1023.

Cuan O'Lochain.

DIED A. D. 1024.

CUAN O'LOCHAIN, who was considered the most learned antiquarian and historian of his time, was made joint regent of Ireland with Corc-ran, a clergyman, on the death of Maolseachlainn. His virtues and talents were of a very high order, and he was the author of various poems; one of them descriptive of the splendour of the royal palace of Tarah, in the time of Cormac Mac Art, monarch of Ireland; another, on the rights and privileges of the monarch, and provincial kings of Ireland: the first of an hundred and eighty verses, and the next of an hundred and forty-eight; besides a poem of fifty-six verses, on the origin of the name of the river Shannon. The annals of Tighernach, Innisfallen, and the Four Masters state his having been killed in Teathbha, in 1024.

Dubdalethy.

DIED A. D. 1065.

DUBDALETHY OR DUDLEY, archbishop of Armagh, was son of Mælbury, senior lecturer of divinity in that city. He wrote annals of Ireland, beginning at 962, and ending 1021, which are quoted both in the Ulster Annals, and by the Four Masters. He was highly esteemed for his learning both in Ireland and Scotland; and when in the year 1050, he made a circuit of cineal conaill, he obtained three hundred cows from the people of that country. Colgan says, that he also wrote an account of the archbishops of Armagh down to his own time. He died the 1st of Sept., 1065.

Giolla Caoimhghin.

DIED A. D. 1072.

GIOLLA CAOIMHGHIN, one of the most celebrated poets and historians of his time, has left a variety of historical and chronological writings in verse, some of them upwards of six hundred verses in length. One commences with the creation, and is carried down to the year in which he died. He divides his chronology into different eras, and gives the names of several memorable persons who lived in each period. There is a fine copy of this in the possession of Sir Wm. Betham. Another poem gives the names of the ancestors of the chief line of the Gaels, from the dispersion at Babel to their establishment in Spain. Copies of this are in the books of Ballimote and Leacan, in the library of the royal Irish academy. He has also written a poem of six hundred and thirty-two verses, which was one of the chief documents on which O'Flaherty founded his technical chronology. This poem gives an account of the first colonization of Ireland, and enumerates all the monarchs that reigned until the time of Laoghair, A. D. 432, when St Patrick first introduced Christianity into Ireland. Copies of this, are also in the books of Ballimote and Leacan. A poem on the Christian kings of Ireland, of an hundred and fifty-two verses has been attributed to him, but some authorities give it to Conaing O'Mael-conaire. In another poem he gives the names and number of the Milesian monarchs that reigned in Ireland, specifying from which of the sons of Golamh each king descended. In the same poem he gives the names of the kings who ruled in Ireland of the Fir-Bolg and Tuatha-de-Danan races. Giolla died 1072.

Tigernach.

DIED A. D. 1072.

TIGERNACH, abbot of Clon-mac-noise, wrote the Annals of Ireland, partly in Latin, and partly in Irish, from the reign of Cimbaeth, king

of Ulster, and monarch of Ireland, A. M. 3596, to his own time. They were continued by Angustin M'Grath to the year of our Lord, 1405, when he died. A copy of these annals are in the library of Trinity College, Dublin, and are amongst the most valuable of the existing materials for Irish history. Tigernach died in 1072.

Tanaiðhe O' Mulconaire.

DIED A. D. 1136.

TANAIÐHE O'MULCONAIRE wrote two historical poems, one giving an account of the kings of the race of Fírbolg, who possessed Ireland before the arrival of the Tuatha-de-Danan, and whose descendants retained a great part of the island until after the introduction of Christianity; the other gives the names of the seven kings of the Tuatha-de-Danan race, who ruled Ireland for an hundred and ninety-seven years: it also mentions the arrival of the Milesians, A. M. 2935. There are copies of both these poems in the book of Invasions by the O'Clerys. Tanaiðhe died in 1136.

Giolla Modhuda O' Cassidy.

DIED A. D. 1143.

GIOLLA MODHUDA O'CASSIDY, otherwise called Dall Clairineach, abbot of Ardbraccan in Meath, was a very learned man, a good historian, and a poet. As usual at that time, he wrote his histories in verse. In one of them he gives a catalogue of the Christian monarchs of Ireland, with the number of years that each king reigned, from the time of Leogaire, A. D. 428, to the death of Maelseachlin II., 1022. In a poem of two hundred and forty-four verses, besides enumerating the kings, he shows how many of each name reigned; and in another, of three hundred and seventy-four ranns* of irregular verses, he gives the names of the wives and mothers of the kings and chiefs of Ireland of the Milesian race. Giolla died, according to the best authorities, in 1143, though in one of the verses of the last mentioned poem (which is to be found in the book of Leacan), it is stated that it was written in 1147.

Giolla O'Dunn.

DIED A. D. 1160.

GIOLLA O'DUNN, chief bard to the king of Leinster, wrote many poems which are preserved in the books of Leacan and Ballimote, chiefly connected with Leinster, which he calls "the province of the

* Each rann consists of four verses.

tombs of kings." One of his poems describes the tribes that sprung from the sons of Milesius, and from Lughaid, and the districts possessed by them; and another gives an account of the chief tribes descended from the three Collas sons of Cairbre, monarch of Ireland, who was killed near Tara in Meath, 286, after a reign of seventeen years. Giolla died 1160.

Maurice O'Regan.

DIED A. D. 1171.

Amongst the writers of this period, Maurice O'Regan takes a prominent place, from the importance of the events with which his life and writings are connected. He was a native of Leinster, and was employed by Dermot MacMurrrough, king of that province, to whom he was secretary and interpreter, as ambassador to Strongbow, Robert Fitzstephen, and other English nobles, to entreat their aid for the recovery of his kingdom, from which, as we have before related, he was expelled by Roderick O'Connor, and other Irish chiefs, for the abduction of Devorgoil, the wife of O'Rourke. O'Regan wrote with much accuracy, a history of the affairs of Ireland during his own time, in his native tongue, and this composition was translated by a friend, into French verse. In the reign of Elizabeth it was again translated into English by Sir George Carew, president of Ireland, and afterwards earl of Totness. O'Regan was sent by Dermot and Strongbow to demand the surrender of Dublin, when they were on their way to besiege it, and all his details are given with the animation of an eyewitness. His history embraces the events of about three years, from the invasion of Strongbow, in the year 1168, to the siege of Limerick, in 1171, about which period it is supposed, that he either died, or was killed, as his history ends abruptly at this event.

Marian O'Gorman.

DIED A. D. 1171.

MURRAY OR MARIAN O'GORMAN, abbot of Knock, near Louth, was contemporary with Regan. He wrote a martyrology in verse, respecting which the statements of Ware and Colgan are rather at variance. The former says that he published a supplement to the martyrology of *Ængus*, in 1171, while Colgan states that O'Gorman wrote a martyrology in most elegant Irish verse in the time of *Gelasius*, archbishop of Armagh, about the year 1167, which is held in great esteem, and ever will be so, for the beauty of the style, and great fidelity of the performance. This (he continues) is, for the most part, collected out of the *Ængusian* martyrology, as an old scholiast, in his preface to that work, says; and further, that O'Gorman does not confine himself to the principal saints of Ireland alone, but takes in promiscuously those of other countries.

Conor O'Kelly.

DIED A. D. 1220.

CONOR O'KELLY wrote a metrical history of his own tribe, the O'Kellys, chiefs of Hy-maine, an ancient district now comprehended in the counties of Galway and Roscommon. It is preserved among the Irish manuscripts in the Marquis of Buckingham's library at Stowe.

Giolla Tosa Roe O'Reilly.

DIED A. D. 1330.

ON the death of Matthew O'Reilly, in the year 1293, his brother, Giolla Tosa Roe O'Reilly, succeeded him in the government of the principality of East Brefny. He was learned, prudent, brave, and victorious, and he extended his territory from Drogheda to Rath Cruachan, now the county of Roscommon. In the year 1300, he built and endowed the monastery of Cavan, in which he erected a chapel, and marble monument as a place of sepulture for himself and family. He was recognised by Edward the Second, as one of the chief princes of Ireland, who addressed him, "dilecto sibi Gillys O'Reilly Duce Hibernicorum de Breifenev," &c., when he wrote a circular letter to the Irish princes requesting their aid against the Scotch. Giolla appointed his nephew Maelsachlain as his successor, and resigned his principality to him in the year 1326, when he retired to the monastery of Cavan, where he continued for the remainder of his life, venerated for his wisdom and sanctity. He died in 1330.

He wrote two poems, one of them on the death of his brother Matthew, and the other, extolling the power and extent of territory possessed by his nephew and successor.

John O'Dugan.

DIED A. D. 1372.

JOHN O'DUGAN, chief poet of O'Kelly of Ibh Maine, wrote a poem of five hundred and sixty-four verses, giving an account of the kings of Ireland, from Slainge of the Fir-Bolgian race, who in conjunction with his four brothers, began to reign over Ireland, A. M. 2245, to Roderick O'Conor, last monarch of Ireland. A copy of this poem is in the possession of Sir William Betham.

He also wrote a topographical and historical poem of nearly nine hundred verses, giving the names of the principal tribes of Ulster, Connaught, and Meath, with their chiefs at the time of Henry II.; but left this work unfinished.—It was completed by Giolla na Naomh O'Huidbrin, who wrote the entire of the history of Munster and its chieftains, and nearly the whole of that relative to Leinster.

A perfect copy of this poem remains in the handwriting of Cucoigriche O'Clery, one of the Four Masters.

He also wrote a poem recording the kings of Leinster, descended from the thirty sons of Cathaoir Mor, monarch of Ireland, and another giving a catalogue of the kings of Cashel, from the time of Core 380, to that of Tirlagh O'Brien 1367. A copy of this is in the book of Ballimote. Another poem describes the actions of Cormac Mac Art, monarch of Ireland; but the most curious of all, is one upon the festivals, with rules for finding the moveable feasts and fasts by the epacts and dominical letters, and its rules still regulate the practice of many who have never seen this poem. He also wrote a poetical vocabulary of obsolete words which has since been adopted into dictionaries. O'Dugan died in 1372, and O'Huidbrim survived him for nearly fifty years.

Mahon O'Reilly.

DIED A. D. 1380.

MAHON O'REILLY, lord of clan Mahon, wrote a poetical eulogy on his son Thomas, prince of East Brefne, who distinguished himself by the impetuosity of his valour, and his successful resistance against the English, having in a short period levelled eighteen castles belonging to the pale, and laid the country from Drogheda to Dublin under contribution.

Magnus O'Duignan.

LIVED A. D. 1390.

THIS writer is chiefly known in connexion with the book of Ballimote, on different pages of which his name is signed, but it seems uncertain what precise share he had in the composition; whether he was the compiler or merely the transcriber of those portions of that celebrated book to which his name is appended. We shall therefore, here, in the absence of all personal detail respecting O'Duignan, proceed to mention such facts respecting this book, as have come to our knowledge.

It is described by O'Reilly, "as a large folio volume, written on vellum of the largest size;" it contained originally 550 pages, but the two first are wanting. As usual in the history of books of this class, it passed down through the hands of numerous possessors. A portion of it appears, on the authority of the volume itself, to have been written in the reign of Tirlagh O'Connor, king of Connaught, who died 1404; and by an entry, p. 180, vol. I. "in a handwriting different from any other part of the book, it appears that Hugh Duff, son of Hugh Roe, son of Niall Garoe O'Donell, bought it in the year 1522, from M'Donogh of Coran, for one hundred and forty milch cows."

The matter of this volume is compiled from a great variety of ancient MSS. of which the principal are yet extant, thus receiving and

imparting to these venerable documents, the authority of so much importance to MS. documents.

The modern history of this valuable MS. must be regarded as especially curious and interesting. It had belonged to the library of Trinity College, Dublin, from which it was either purloined, or fraudulently detained. Vallency gives an account of the book of Leacan, which with good reason is supposed by Mr O'Reilly to have actual reference to the book of Ballimote. The General mentions that Doctor Raymond, about the year 1790, lent a book out of the college library to a person of the name of M'Naghten; from M'Naghten it was stolen by one Egan, from whom it came into the possession of Judge Marley, whose servant he was; and remained in the Judge's library till his death. It was then by some means conveyed to the Lombard college in Paris. That this account is mainly conjectural, is apparent on its very face, and the Abbè Geoghegan states that the book of Leacan had long before been transferred to the Irish college in Paris, by James II.; a fact formally attested by a notary. According to this statement, the book lent to M'Naghten, could not have been the book of Leacan. There is, on the other hand, strong reason to suppose the book of Ballimote, to have been that which was lent to M'Naghten—as there is among the MSS. in the college library, a copy in the hand of M'Naghten. It would then be the high probability, that having lost the original, which he had borrowed through the interposition of Raymond, for the purpose of transcription, that he in compensation, gave his paper copy to the college.

From the mark and memoranda on the copy in the Academy, it is inferred by O'Reilly, that it was in 1769, in the hands of O'Dornin of Drogheda, "a good Irish scholar," and remained with him till 1774. It then probably came into the possession of the college. The next hand to which it seems to be traced with any certainty is that of the chevalier O'Gorman, who presented it to the Royal Irish Academy.

Dermot O'Connor, who translated Keating, mentions having obtained the "book of Ballimore in the county of Meath, by the kindness of Dr Anthony Raymond of Trim, who entered into a bond of a thousand pound, security for its safe return."* This statement is questioned by O'Reilly, who infers that the book in question, was the book of Ballimote. He observes, that no Irish scholar ever heard of a book of Ballimore in Meath; and confirms his inference by the numerous errors in O'Connor's translation, which he considers sufficient to prove that "he could make nothing" of the book of Ballimote. The conjecture that this was the book of Ballimote, receives some additional probability from the circumstance, that Bishop Nicholson who mentions this book twice, calls it once "the book of Ballimore." O'Connor may have caught the word, and referred the book to the place with which he was most familiar.

One more observation we cannot avoid adding in favour of this supposition, though personally we have no present means of verifying it. The enumeration of the contents of this book by O'Connor,† is not in

* Preface to Keating's Ireland.

† Preface to his translation of Keating's Ireland.

accordance with that of Mr O'Reilly. For this fact, if correct, we must be content to refer to the several books; as those who choose to verify it must be already in possession of the means. Keating mentions the Psalter of Tara, and the Book of Armagh.

Donogh Ban O'Maelconaire.

DIED A. D. 1404.

DONOGH BAN O'MAELCONAIRE, chief poet of the O'Conors of Connaught, was author of a poetical catalogue of the kings of Connaught, from Tirlogh O'Conor, son of Roderick the great, to Tirlogh O'Conor, who lived upwards of two hundred and thirty years afterwards.

A copy of this poem is in the book of Leacan.

Augustin Magradian.

DIED A. D. 1405.

ANGUSTIN MAGRADIAN, or Austin M'Craith continued the annals of Tigernach to his own time, and they have been since continued by another writer to the year 1571. A copy of these annals is in the library of Trinity College.

Maurice O'Daly.

A. D. 1415.

MAURICE O'DALY, who with many poets of his time, was this year cruelly plundered by Lord Furnival, revenged himself by recording in verse, the defeats of the English, and the signal victories of Thomas, prince of East Brefne, when he razed eighteen castles belonging to the lords of the pale, for which he was also celebrated in verse by his father, the lord of Clan Mahon.

Gerald Barry.

BORN A. D. 1146.—DIED A. D. 1220.

AMONG the authorities for the history of the earlier part of this period, none can be named of the same pretension to fulness and minuteness as Giraldus Cambrensis. And as he had probably access to a large class of ancient documents, not now in existence, he is perhaps among the best sources of information on the earlier periods. If we must subtract from this praise the well-known fact that he was a party writer, and the advocate of Henry II.'s views, yet the allow-

ance, too, is easily made, for any deception likely to arise, and where his statement is not perceptibly affected by two great motives, his zeal for the church, and his zeal for the subjugation of this island, he may be relied upon as a safe authority for the transactions of his own time, and that immediately preceding. His errors and prejudices—his ignorance of the Irish language, and the credulity with which he received, and transmitted in his writings, all sorts of improbabilities—have drawn upon him much unmeasured severity; and we must admit that on these grounds, the deductions to be made are large enough. But as much or more is on some similar ground to be deduced from all history, the real authority of which is after all to be elaborately extracted by comparison, and the aid of a comprehensive theory of mankind, and the laws of social transition. Before Cambrensis, it cannot indeed in the full sense of the term be said that there were any Irish historians; the annalists, valuable as they unquestionably are, do not merit the name; it is indeed in a great measure from the fact, that they are but compilers—chroniclers of isolated facts—that their value is derived. Were it not that they copied such ancient dates and records as they found with conscientious accuracy, their ignorant prejudices and superstitious traditions must have rendered questionable every line they wrote: this is apparent from the few well-known remains of the literature of the middle ages. If however these are rendered trustworthy by the barrenness of their statements, and by the fact that they are simply the deliverers of an unbroken series of traditions; the Anglo-Irish historians who follow, have the advantage of standing within the daylight of historical comparison; and of being easily tested by the consent of modern tradition, and by the evidence of existing things.

Giraldus was descended from a noble Norman family, but his mother was a Welsh woman; his native place was Pembroke-shire, where he was born in 1146, at the castle of Manorbur. He was from his childhood destined for the ecclesiastical profession, for which he exhibited early dispositions. He soon mastered the learning of the age, and while yet very young was introduced to his intended profession, in which his learning, zeal, and practical ability, afforded the fairest expectations of advancement. An ambitious and prompt spirit was not wanting to prompt the active exertion of these capabilities, and Giraldus was soon employed to influence his Welsh countrymen to submit to the payment of their ecclesiastical dues to the archbishop of Canterbury, for whom he acted as legate in Wales: in this capacity he suspended the archdeacon of St David's, who refused to part with his mistress, and was himself appointed archdeacon in his room. In this situation the most remarkable incident is his dispute with the bishop of St Asaph, which is worthy of notice for the very strange and peculiar display it offers of the spirit of the age. This contest related to the dedication of a church, which was situated on the borders of the dioceses of the two belligerent ecclesiastics. The bishop with the experience of his maturer age, had planned to anticipate the movements of his youthful antagonist, and dedicate the church before he should become aware of the design. But he had not justly allowed for the vigilance and superior promptitude of Giraldus, who was not to be thus caught sleeping. Giraldus having received some intimation of the bishop's intent, prepared with

discreet celerity to prevent him: sending for an aid of armed men to his friends, Clyd and Cadwallon, chiefs of the country, to whom he represented the important necessity of vindicating the rights of the diocese of St David's, and having been joined by their contingents of horse and foot, he hastened forward with his little army to the scene of action. On the next morning after his departure he arrived early at the scene of meditated conflict, and after some delay, entering the church which was to be dedicated, proceeded to the usual solemnities, and having ordered the bells to be rung in token of possession, he began mass. In the mean time, the bishop, with his host, drew nigh, and his messengers arrived to bespeak the due preparations. On this Giraldu, who had finished his mass, sent a deputation of the clergy of St David's to welcome the bishop if he was coming as a neighbour to witness the ceremony, if otherwise to prohibit his further approach. The bishop replied, "that he came in his professional capacity as a priest to perform his duty in the dedication of the church." With this the bishop came on, and was met by the archdeacon at the head of his party as he approached the entrance of the disputed church. Here these two antagonists, more resolute than wise, stood for a while like thunder clouds over the Adriatic, confronting each other with the fume and menace of controversy, the common presage of those more terrific, but not less futile bolts by which that ignorant age was held in awe. Neither party had the good fortune to shake the purpose of the other by argument, and they had proceeded no further after a considerable length of alternate contradiction and oburgation, than the several assertion of a right to the church of Keli; when the bishop, again thinking to play the old soldier, slipped from his horse and proceeded quietly to take possession. Giraldu was nothing dismayed—at the head of the clergy of St David's, who came forward in good order, in their sacerdotal attire, with tapers burning, and crucifixes uplifted, he met his episcopal antagonist in the porch. The thunder of the church now burst forth, long and loud in all its terror, and the echoes of conflicting anathemas rung from the unblest walls. Giraldu, promptly taking advantage of this position, secured the efficacy of his spiritual artillery by ringing the bells three times. The expedient was decisive, struck with dismay at this irresistible confirmation of his adversary's curse, the bishop mounted, and with his party fled discomfited from the field. What appears strangest still, the victory of Giraldu was crowned with universal gratulation, and even the bishop of St Asaph, not altogether annihilated by the mauling he had received, recovered breath to express his applause at the skill and vigour of his adversary. This reminds us of a surgeon, who having broken his leg, had the professional enthusiasm to congratulate himself on the happy incident by which he was led to witness the consummate expertness of Sir Philip Crampton in cutting it off.

Giraldu, at this period of his life, maintained the same prompt and assiduous character manifested in this praiseworthy exploit; and by his alacrity in performing the duties, or braving the hardships of his pastoral charge, merited and obtained the general approbation of the people and clergy: so that on the death of the aged bishop of St David's, he was warmly recommended to the king as the most fit and

acceptable successor. But the learning and daring vigilance of Giraldus were by no means recommendations to a monarch who had already had in another eminent ecclesiastic an unfortunate experience of such qualifications. Henry also was made aware of Giraldus's family importance which gave him added influence in Pembrokeshire; and with these prepossessions turned a deaf ear to the application. He had nevertheless the sagacity to discern that the qualifications which he thus excluded from the hostile ranks of the Roman church, might be usefully enlisted in his own; and Giraldus was retained in his establishment as tutor to prince John.

It was in this latter capacity that he visited Ireland, in 1185. Henry having resolved to appoint his son John to the government of Ireland, sent over Giraldus with an expedition, commanded by Richard de Cogan, that he might form a judgment, and report on the state of affairs in that country. He came in the train of his brother, Philip de Barri; and was associated in his commission with the archbishop of Dublin, an Englishman, who resided in England, but who was on this occasion sent over to his Irish diocese. In common with his associate, Giraldus came over strongly prejudiced against Ireland and the Irish church—then in many important respects, superior to the English. They made it their main concern, nevertheless, to inquire into all the particulars of its discipline and doctrine, and were soon scandalized by the discovery of numerous proofs of an independent spirit among the body of the Irish clergy and laity, while the more powerful and intelligent of the bishops were anxious asserters of the authority of the Roman see. These demerits roused the professional spirit of Giraldus; he saw every thing in consequence through a dense mist of prejudice, and gave frequent offence to the Irish bishops by his invidious and acrimonious observations. In the warmth of their simple zeal, the Irish informed the sarcastic scholar of the high claims of their church to veneration; they referred to its antiquity, and enumerated its saints. The taunting archdeacon replied, "You have your saints—but where are your martyrs? I cannot find one Irish martyr in your calendar." "Alas! it must be acknowledged," was the answer of the bishop of Cashel, "that as yet our people have not learned such enormous guilt as to murder God's servants; but now that Englishmen have settled in our island, and that Henry is our sovereign, we may soon expect enough of martyrs to take away this reproach from our church."* On another occasion, the abbot of Baltinglass preached a sermon in Dublin at one of the cathedrals, on the subject of clerical continence. Giraldus was present on the occasion, no tolerant listener to the Irish orator; but when from dwelling strongly on the obligations of this virtue, the abbot proceeded to an implied comparison between the English and Irish churches, and dwelt on the high and exemplary purity of his brethren before their morals had sustained contamination from the flagitious impurities of the English ecclesiastics who had recently been sent amongst them, the spleen of Giraldus could no longer be contained, but starting from his chair, he poured forth a fierce and recriminatory answer. He had the candour to admit the

* Leland.

virtue claimed for the Irish church, and the admission was perhaps made with a scorn which depreciated the praise of a virtue then not held in high request; while he overwhelmed his adversary with charges of drunkenness, treachery, dissimulation, falsehood and barbarism, against the ecclesiastics of the Irish church. The bishoprics of Leighlin and Ferns, were offered to Giraldus by prince John, during this residence, but he was probably not very ambitious to settle in a country so disturbed as Ireland, and of which the manners and literature were so little congenial to the tastes of a man of letters: he was also bent on literary projects, and then engaged in assiduous preparation for his work on Irish topography, of which he at this time collected the ample materials, and finished the work on his return to Wales.*

In 1198, the bishop of St David's dying, Giraldus was nominated by the chapter, but rejected at Rome, where there arose a violent contention on the subject—which was however decided in favour of the other candidate, the prior of Llanthony abbey. The see of St David's was the favourite object of Giraldus' life—it was endeared to him by all those early and native associations, which have a first place among the best affections of the heart, and most of all with those whose habits imply the cultivation of the moral feelings. For this he had refused all other honours—Leighlin and Ferns, Bangor and Llandaff. The chapter of St David's zealously seconded this desire—and he was on three several occasions elected. But neither the king who looked for more subservient qualifications, nor the pope, whose views were inconsistent with the merit pleaded before him by Giraldus "*presentarunt vobis allic libras, sed nos libras*," a jest, the simplicity of which may at least have contended with its wit for the smiles of the conclave or the papal cabinet.†

Notwithstanding the popularity of Giraldus in his native place, with the favour of three monarchs, and the splendid opportunities of preferment which had so often presented themselves, the favourite ambition of his heart seems to have allured him through life, and like the muse, as pathetically described by poor Goldsmith,

"That foundest me poor at first and keepst me so,"

landed his old age in trouble and weariness. His old age was imbittered by a contest with the archbishop of Canterbury, the result of which was his resignation of all his church preferments. Henceforth he lived in studious retirement, glad to escape from the responsibility and the stormy collisions of official employment. From this tranquil pause from a laborious life, even the offer of the see of St David's could not seduce him. He had, perhaps, the wisdom to see the vanity of a burdensome elevation, when the spirit and energy of life are past, and neither the capacity for enjoyment or duty remain. He probably felt that the interval of decrepitude and decay, which is the short avenue to another state, has other objects than the mistaken game which stakes heart, body and soul, in the struggle for earthly preferment—which deceives the young and mocks the old, who have a sterner wit-

* Ware's Writers.

† Hoare's Cambrensis.

ness than popular respect in their homes and breasts. The old arch-deacon of St David's refused the dignity which had been the desire of his life, and the act shows a mind more disciplined than is often found, or a spirit sadly broken by old age and vexation.

Giraldus died in his native province, in his 74th year, and was buried in the cathedral of St David's. He is justly described by his biographer, as one of the brightest luminaries that adorned the annals of the twelfth century.* The works of Giraldus were numerous. Ware mentions a long list—now grown unimportant at the distance of more than six centuries. Those which concern us chiefly are the works on the topography, and on the conquest of Ireland: which last has been the main authority for all English historians who have ever since written on the period included in his work. This concludes, however, with the first expedition of prince John. The statements of Giraldus are severely assailed by Lynch, the well-known antiquarian, who lived in the reigns of Charles I. and Charles II.

John a Sacrobosco.

DIED A. D. 1235.

THE once eminent geographer, John a Sacrobosco, or John of Holywood, in the county of Wicklow, is one of the many persons whose just fame is lost in the obscurity which they assisted to dispel. Of the particulars of his life little is preserved; but his name holds its place in the history of science; and his treatise on the sphere continued to be reprinted and looked on as the best yet extant for three hundred years. With the usual fortune of great men, whose lives have not been distinctly recorded, he has been claimed for England and Scotland. But the claim has no ground in either case, beyond conjecture: the claim of Ireland cannot, indeed, be altogether placed beyond the reach of doubt; yet may be preferred on the most probable grounds. Stanhurst asserts his Irish origin, and Ware declines to decide, but includes him among his Irish writers. Unquestionably he lived in a period when learning continued to find a refuge in the comparative seclusion of the Irish monasteries; and when it was yet customary for eminent Irishmen to follow the steps of their illustrious predecessors to seek distinction in the rising schools of Italy and France. We have at least the presumption of a clear analogy in our favour.

This ancient mathematician and astronomer, taught the mathematical sciences, as then known, in the university of Paris, in 1230. Besides his standard work on the sphere, he also wrote on the astrolabe, on the calendar, and an arithmetical treatise. He died in Paris, in 1235, and was buried in the church "D. Maturini."†

From the paucity of our facts in this memoir, we have avoided our usual course of interweaving them with some appropriate notice of the history of the geographical and astronomical knowledge of our author's time. In the literary series for the next period, which will bring us

* Hoare.

† Ware's Writers.

+ Cambrensis Eboracensis 3 vols

to the times of Boyle and Newton, we shall have a most convenient opportunity to enter fully upon all the details of these interesting subjects. A cursory outline may here be acceptable, and will serve to explain the importance we attribute to Sacrobosco.

The period of Sacrobosco may be viewed as the early dawn of that science which will hereafter be recollected as the glory of the nineteenth century. From the sixth century till the thirteenth, there lay a dull and rayless torpor over the intellectual faculties, in which the science of antiquity was lost. To estimate the advantages and disadvantages which then affected its revival, it may here be sufficient to make a few remarks upon the earlier history of science.

There is a broad interval between the geographical research which bounded the known world by the surrounding sea of darkness, whose unknown shores were peopled with the Hyperboreans, and Lestrigons, and Cimmerians, and other dire chimeras of ignorance, and the voyages of Ross and Parry. The step is wide from the gnomon of Thales to the practical science of Kater, Sabine and Roy, or to the exquisite scientific and instrumental precision of the Ordnance Survey in Ireland. Wider still is the ascent of discovery between the "fiery clouds" of Anaxagoras and his school, and the nebulae—the "heaven of heavens" of Sir William Herschell, who has expanded the field of observation beyond the flight of the sublimest poetry. Yet astronomy had, nevertheless, been then, and through every period of which there is any record, an object of earnest and industrious inquiry. The most striking and glorious phenomena of the external world, could not fail at any period to excite the admiration, wonder, and speculative contemplation, of a being endowed with the vast grasp of reason which has since explored them with such marvellous success. They were a study to the inquiring, and a religion to the superstitious, from the first of times. The history of the human mind, perhaps, offers no succession of phenomena more illustrative, than the long variety of theories which seem to mark, as they descend, the advances of observation, or illustrate the law of action, by which the reason of man progresses towards its end. To pursue this view would require a volume to itself. It must here suffice to say, that hitherto there appears to have existed no adequate notions of the system of the heavens; neither the form or magnitude of the earth were known; or the distances, magnitudes, and motions of the other great bodies of the solar system. Of the earlier science of the Egyptians, the objects were confined to the measurement of time; and if we knew no farther, the error of their ancient year would sufficiently fix the limit of their knowledge. The Greek philosophers, Pythagoras and his cotemporaries, whose knowledge is referred to Egypt, were evidently further advanced, but have left the landmarks of their progress in the curious absurdity of their theoretical views. It is sufficient that they had no notion, even approaching the truth, on the true magnitude and frame of the solar system. Yet it is not to be passed over, that even at that early period, the surprising sagacity of Pythagoras attained to some just fundamental notions which there were then no sufficient means to verify, and which were destined to sleep for many ages, till taken up by the Italian geometers in the beginning of the sixteenth century. Pythagoras conceived the first

idea of the true system: he supposed the sun to be at rest in the centre, and the earth with the other planets to be carried round in circular orbits. This great philosopher made even a further step, reaching by a very strange and wonderfully ingenious analogy (if the story be true) to both the principle of gravitation and the precise law of its application. He was, by an accident, led to make experiments on sound: by one of these he ascertained the force with which various degrees of tension, caused by different weights, acted on strings of different lengths, so as to produce proportional intensities of sound. This discovery, which is supposed to have been the origin of stringed instruments of music, he applied to the solar system, and conjectured that the planets were, according to the same principle, drawn to the sun, with a force proportional to their several masses and inversely as the squares of their distances. It seems to have wanted little to improve this happy thought; but that little was wanting. There can nevertheless be little doubt, that it continued to pass down the stream of ages, and to recur to the most sagacious understandings of after-times. The fact was veiled by the mystical spirit of the Pythagorean and Platonic philosophy, in a mythological dress: Apollo playing on his seven-stringed harp, appositely described the harmonious analogy of nature's law. It was this conception which originated the idea of the music of the spheres, as imagined by the early philosophers of Greece.

Though the geometers of ancient Greece had carried some principal branches of mathematics to an astonishing degree of perfection, their progress in physical science is chiefly memorable for its errors and the narrowness of its scope. Six hundred years before our era, Thales had invented the geometry of triangles, and measured the heights of the pyramids by their shadows. The elements of plane and solid geometry, cultivated in the long interval between, were matured by the genius of Euclid, Apollonius, and Archimedes: by this latter philosopher, whose genius finds few parallels in human history, mechanics also, and different branches of physical science, were advanced to an extent not now to be distinctly defined. But there lay around those mighty ancients a vast field of obscurity, which they had not attained the means to penetrate. Other aids, both instrumental and theoretical, were reserved for the development of future times; their knowledge was confined in its application to the operations of the rule and compass. Beyond this narrow scope lay the wide realm since fully explored by the science of Galileo and Newton, inaccessible to observation, and darkly explored by conjecture and theory, then, as now and ever the resources of human ignorance and curiosity, where knowledge cannot reach.

Nevertheless, so early as the time of Aristotle, the sounder method of observation and experiment were known: but the field of knowledge was too contracted for the range of speculation. The recognition was but partial. Yet from this period, the phenomena of astronomy were observed, registered, and submitted to mathematical computation. The visible stars were grouped and catalogued, eclipses were calculated, and attempts were made, on sound geometrical principles, to measure the circumference of the earth. Just notions of the

system were even entertained, but upon inadequate grounds, and amidst a variety of theoretical systems; and it was not until the year 150 B.C. that Eratosthenes, the librarian of Alexandria, measured an arc of the meridian, and computed the earth's circumference. Among the remarkable circumstances of the interesting progress of this vast and sublime development of genius and observation, thus in (as it were) the first stage of its elevation, two are specially to be observed, for their essential connexion with the history both of astronomy and of human reason. The one, had we time and space, would lead us into the history of astrology—a wonderful combination of the great and little properties of human nature, under the towering shadows of which, the science of observation was preserved and fostered in its growth. The other is the beautiful application of an expedient still employed in natural philosophy, for the same purpose of embodying and subjecting to computation the results of experience. A system purely empirical combined the observed phenomena of the known bodies of the solar system, in such a manner, that being framed so as to include all that could be observed of their motions, it was thus not only adapted for the purpose of computation within those limits, but also served to lead to a closer and more precise measure of phenomena, which, without the reference to some standard system, might easily escape the minute observation necessary for the detection of small quantities of motion or changes of position, such as might lead to further corrections. Of such a nature was the hypothesis by which Apollonius first attempted to solve the seemingly anomalous motions of the planets. This curious system, which was the faith of Europe for fourteen centuries, is worth the reader's attention, and, without any certainty that we can render it popularly intelligible, we shall here attempt to describe it.

In conformity with the universal tendency to explain phenomena by assumptions which seem the most natural, it first began to be the received opinion that the sun and planets moved in circular paths round the earth, which was supposed to be fixed in the centre. The parallel paths and circular apparent motions of the phenomena of the heavens, suggested the notion of a crystalline sphere, in which the multitude of the stars was set, and which revolved with a solemn continuity round its terrestrial centre. The observation of the unequal and contrary apparent motions of the moon and planets extended the theory, and separate spheres of hollow crystalline were devised, to account for these diverse phenomena. It was to these vast concaves, thus spinning round with complicated but harmonious times and movements, that some Eastern poets have attributed a sublime and eternal harmony, unheard in this low world, but heard we should presume, in the

“Starry mansion of Jove's court.”

Such was the first rude and simple outline of the system as adopted by Aristotle and old Eudoxus. Closer and further observation, in the course of time, detected phenomena inconsistent with such a system, and for a time astronomers were content to observe. In proportion to the multiplication of phenomena, conjecture became more timid, and system more difficult. At last, the ingenuity of the geometer Apollo-

nus contrived the first form of a theory which explained the great irregularities of those planetary motions, which most readers now understand to be the combined result of the separate motions of the earth and planets. Instead of a concave sphere having its centre of motion in the earth, Apollonius conceived each of the planets to be carried round on the circumference of a circle, which was itself carried round upon another circle, the circumference of which was the path of its centre. By this ingenious device, the planetary phenomena now so well known by the terms direct, retrograde, and stationary, seemed to be explained. The appearance of a new star, and the long and laborious course of observation into which it led Hipparchus, who undertook in the true spirit of inductive philosophy to catalogue the stars, conducted this great astronomer to the discovery of the precession of the equinoxes.

A new circle, on which the sun was moved, according to the law already explained, reduced this phenomenon to the same convenient system. To this great geometer is attributed the invention of the method of latitude and longitude, by which the position of places on the earth is ascertained: the invention of spherical trigonometry is said also to be among his discoveries.* Of these, however, the most considerable portion were lost, and the remains appear only to be known by their preservation in the *Almagest* of Ptolemy. Three hundred years after the great philosophers already mentioned, their system, with the addition of whatever observation had added in the interval, came into the hands of Ptolemy, whose name it has ever since borne. This great man, not undeservedly, called prince of astronomers by the ancients, may be described as the Laplace of old astronomy: he collected, combined, and completed the results of observation, and reduced the real and theoretical knowledge of his predecessor into an improved, corrected, and augmented theory. A system of empirical knowledge, even then displaying a grand and sublime aspect of the vast capability of human reason, though now chiefly valuable for its connexion with the faith, the superstition, and poetical remains of other times; unless to those who can appreciate its value as a magnificent ruin of ancient philosophy, more instructive and more sublime than Thebes or Palmyra.

Of this system, of which we have forbore to attempt a detailed description, (which would only embarrass the reader who does not already understand it,) one of the effects was, to render permanent the errors which it contained, by the seeming precision with which it explained and calculated the known phenomena of nature. The broad intelligence of Hipparchus and Ptolemy were probably not deceived: they understood the nature of the process too well: they were aware that a theory which comprized, in its first elements, the whole visible phenomena, as well as the rates of movement and times of occurrence, must necessarily, within certain limits, appear to reproduce them as results of calculation. But the very fact that a known succession of phenomena could be thus deduced from a theory, seemed to offer an unanswerable verification of its truth, to a long¹ succession of mindless

* Laplace Systeme du Monde.

ages, whose broken recollections of ancient knowledge were simply the dreams of superstition.

A long period of ignorance followed, in which all science was lost, and human reason was engrossed in devising sophisms and subtle errors. Science, lost in Europe, found refuge in the East; and about the end of the seventh century began to be cultivated with extraordinary zeal and success by the Arabians, who invented algebra, and are also supposed to have invented trigonometry. They translated a vast number of works of Greek science, and among the rest the *Almagest* of Ptolemy, about the beginning of the ninth century.

At the revival of learning in Europe, astronomy, which had always more or less occupied the schools, from its connexion with astrology, as well as its essential combination with the adjustments of the calendar, began earliest to occupy attention. Among the works of science brought from Arabia, the *Almagest* of Ptolemy was obtained, and translated into Latin, by the patronage of Frederick III., in 1230. From this, a quick succession of astronomers and geographers began to construct anew the science of antiquity.

The progress of geographical knowledge had been far more retarded and uncertain. Being chiefly dependent on detailed and local research, it was the less likely to be advanced beyond the narrow limits occupied by civilized nations. Notwithstanding the measurement of Eratosthenes, which is supposed to have been not far from correctness, the geographers who follow for many ages were farther from any approach to the truth. The maps of various geographers of the middle ages, are still extant, to prove how restricted were the bounds of the known world; the farther extremities of Europe, Asia, and Africa, were shut out from all but conjecture: America was yet undreamed of. The knowledge which actually existed was more due to commerce and conquest than to science; and the march of the army, or the station of the caravan, were more to be relied on than the chart of science. In England, the first idea of a topographical survey originated in the distribution of the Saxon lands by the Norman conqueror, and gave rise to the celebrated compilation called *Doomsday Book*. The crusades gave some impulse to the advance of topographical knowledge. The travels of Marco Polo extended geography widely into the East. A long and improving course of maritime discovery set in, and as navigation became cultivated, far less obstructed voyages of discovery soon afforded more correct and extended notions of the compass and form of the old world. Still, however, the condition of geographical knowledge considered as a science, remained in the state in which it was left by Ptolemy.

It is in this state of the science that the great standard work of Sacrobosco finds its place. It held the schools for the following 300 years, went through numerous translations, and has been published with a commentary by Clavius. It might still have held its ground, and Sacrobosco his fame, but for the revolutions in science which the sixteenth century produced. A succession of new intellects broke from the regenerated schools of antiquity. The cycle of a long decline of scientific genius seemed to have rolled back into its renovation of youthful vigour,—the geometry of Archimedes, Apollonius, and Euclid,

seemed to conduct Copernicus, Kepler and Galileo back to the era of Pythagoras. These great men discovered the inadequacy of the Ptolemaic system to account for the phenomena of the solar system. They were silenced by the despotism of ignorance; but they propagated the impulse of right reason, and the light they left never slept till it came into the school of England and the hand of Newton. Every one is aware of the main facts of the Newtonian system. But should any one who has read so far, ask the question which has been often asked—what is our security that the system of Newton is not as fallacious as the system of Ptolemy? the only answer we can give is this, that the principles of their construction are not simply different, but opposite—the one is a system devised to explain appearances, the other an undeviated system, self-built, from discovered truth—the one is a theory, the other a collection of accurately ascertained facts—the one was intentionally assumed to represent what meets the eye, the other studiously rejecting both assumptions and appearances, may be regarded as the laborious work of the observation of ages, slowly falling together, until a hand of power, revealed the fundamental fact which disclosed the secret system of nature. The distances, magnitudes, and motions of the system are facts, tangible to sense: the theory of gravitation rests on the most universal analogy yet discovered, and on the most varied and complex confirmation of geometrical reasoning and computation. “The terms attraction and gravity,” says Mr Woodhouse, “although they seem borrowed from the language of causation, are not meant to signify any agency or mode of operation. They stand rather for a certain class of like effects, and are convenient modes of designating them.”* The law of gravity is the statement of a fact. If it were to be disproved, the vast system of facts, of which it is the combining principle, still remains the same—a symmetrical collection of calculable facts, unmixed with a single inference from mere theory.

We shall hereafter have to offer a more expanded view of this subject, and a continuation of the history of the progress of these parts of knowledge.

Peter.

FLOURISHED A. D. 1240.

PETER, an Irishman of great ability, and remarkable both as a philosopher and a theologian, went to Italy on the special invitation of Frederick II., who had at that time restored the university of Naples, and wished to have a man of his learning and acquirements, both as an example and instructor to the rising generation. He was tutor to Thomas Aquinas in philosophical studies, in the year 1240, and wrote *Quodlibeta Theologica*. The time and place of his death are unknown.

* Preface to Physical Astronomy.

Thomas Hibernicus.

FLOURISHED A. D. 1270.

THOMAS HIBERNICUS was born in the county of Kildare, at a place called Palmerstown. He left his own country and became a fellow of the college of Sorbonne. He continued to reside for some time in Paris, and afterwards travelled into Italy. Marian of Florence writes, "That Thomas, the Irishman, flourished in the year 1270, in the convent of Aquila, in the province of Penin, now called the province of St Bernardin, and was in great reputation for his learning and piety." He continued in this monastery until his death, the period of which is unknown, and was buried there. On his deathbed, he bequeathed all the books he had written, with a variety of other manuscripts, to the college of Sorbonne, together with six pounds for the purpose of purchasing a rent to celebrate his anniversary. The necrology of Sorbonne, states that "Master *Thomas of Ireland*, formerly a fellow of this house, died. He compiled *Manipulum Florum*, and three other small tracts, which he sent to us, and bequeathed to us many other books, and six pounds in money to buy a rent to be employed in celebrating his anniversary." Ware says that the above-mentioned treatise was begun by a Franciscan friar, of the name of *John Gualleis* or *Wallis*, and that, he dying, Thomas completed it, and gave it the title of

Flores Doctorum penè omnium, qui tum in Theologia, tum in Philosophia, hactenus Claruerunt, lib. ii.

He also wrote—

De Christianâ Religione, lib. i.
De Illusionibus Dæmonum, lib. i.
De Tentatione Diaboli, lib. i.
De Remediis Vitiorum, lib. i.

Ware quotes the following catalogue of his writings from the Bibliotheque of the Dominican order:—

Tabula Originalium, sive Manipulus Florum secundum ordinem alphabeti extracta ex libris 36, Auctorum, edita a M. Thoma Hibernico, quondam Socio Domus Scholarium de Sorbona Parisiensis Civitatis.
Liber de tribus punctis Christianæ Religionis Commendatio Theologia,

beginning "*Sapientia Ædificavit fidi Domum*," &c., which he explains according to the mystical, allegorical, and moral sense.

Tractatus de tribus Hierarchiis tam Angelicis quam Ecclesiasticis.

In the college of Sorbonne there is another manuscript ascribed to him, under the title of

In primam et secundum sententiarum.

Gotofrid.

FLOURISHED IN THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY.

GOTOFRID, a native of the city of Waterford, in Ireland, was a Dominican friar, and deeply skilled in the Latin, Greek, French, and Arabic languages. He left his own country early, and it was thought that he travelled into the East to acquire a more perfect knowledge of the Arabic. He afterwards resided in France, and translated the three following treatises from the Latin, Greek, and Arabic, into French.* He dedicated, according to Harris, "this last piece to some nobleman, whose name is not mentioned in the manuscript from whence the account is taken. For he says thus in the preface—

A nobilibus prout et sagas, &c.

which the writers of the Dominican *Bibliothèque* interpret

Nobili viro, strenuo, et prudentia—

"To a man noble, valiant and wise, Goffrid or Gotofrid, from Waterford, the least of the order of Friars preachers, wisheth health in Jesus Christ, and strength both of body and mind"———"whereas, sometimes you provide yourself with arms, and other implements necessary for war, sometimes you entertain yourself in reading books—wherefore to other good books, which you already have, you desire to add a book called *The secret of secrets, of the most wise philosopher, Aristotle, or a treatise of the government of kings and princes*; and for this end you have requested me, that I would for your sake translate the said work from Latin into French, which I have already translated from Greek into Arabic, and again from Arabic into Latin—being overcome by your entreaties, I have taken care to fulfil this task, and have used more pains in it than I am accustomed to do in my deep and profound studies. You are to observe, that the Arabians in a great circuit of words speak but few truths; whereas the Greeks are obscure in their mode of speaking: wherefore by translating from both tongues I have endeavoured to lop off the parts that are too prolix in the one language, and to illustrate what is obscure in the other, as far as the subject-matter would bear, and therein have pursued rather the sense of the words than the words themselves. You are farther to understand, that I have added many other things, which, though they are not contained in that book, yet are drawn from other authentic books, and are no less profitable than what is written in that treatise; these things that are added being pertinent to the subject in hand. Lastly, you are to know, that the Latin is not without a mixture of the Arabic; and therefore I have lopped off many things, which are neither true nor profitable, in such a manner, that I have in the shortest method taken in the marrow of the subject, and what is most consonant to truth." Thus, as Harris says, the preface shows "the country of the author, of what order of

* 1. Daretis Phrygii Librum de Bello Trojano.

2. Eutropii Romanum Historiam.

3. Aristotelis ad Alexandrum librum, qui dicitur secretum secretorum, seu de regimine Regum.

religion he was, and his skill in the four languages." He also adds, that these three treatises in vellum are preserved at Paris in small folio, in the library of Monsieur Colbert, and are elegantly written in the characters of the thirteenth century; and that in the same volume are contained fourteen sermons turned into French, which in the catalogue are ascribed to *Jacobus de Boragine*: and after them follows a short exposition of the articles of faith, and of the Lord's prayer, in French; and then, other sermons on the first Sunday of advent on time, and on the gospel of all the Sundays in the year. Now as these sermons and discourses are written not only in the same handwriting with the other works before-mentioned, which are certainly Gotofrid's, but also the style and manner of orthography are the same, the authors of the said *Bibliothèque* are willing to ascribe them to him, and think, that they are either composed by him in French, or turned by him into French from some other language. The like judgment is to be made of two other treatises, in the same volume, translated from Latin into French, in the same style and handwriting. The first is entitled in Latin *Libellus mortalitatem*, and in French, *le petits livres demortalites*; and the other is called *Eleucidarius*, being that same book concerning the author of which there are such great disputes among the learned—some ascribing it to Anselm of Canterbury, and others to Honorius of Autun.* The time and place of his death are unknown.

John Duns Scotus.

DIED A. D. 1308.

WHILE a small number of men like John Sacrobosco were in comparative obscurity cultivating the narrow field of real knowledge open to their industry, the schools were with no less diligence, and far more worldly honour, engaged in the fabrication of an enormous pile of laborious and difficult frivolity, in which as much of life, study and genius, was spent to no end, as has since been employed upon the Newtonian philosophy.

Of this curious state of mankind, there are ample remains; and many names illustrious rather on account of the fame they once acquired, than for any real title to the praise or gratitude of posterity. Among these John Duns Scotus, claims a brief notice for the place he once held; and because his name affords the most appropriate occasion for a sketch of the school of which he was one of the ornaments. To preserve the utmost perspicuity, we shall according to the method already pursued, first give an outline of his life.

The birth-place of Duns is disputed by different authorities: the English and Scotch lay claim to him; but Wadding, his biographer, adjudges him to Ireland. This conclusion is supported by the adjunct of Scotus, then unquestionably assumed as distinctive of Irish origin: and it may be observed, that it never has been (and could not have been)

* Harris's Ware.

thus applied to any Scotchman, as it is évident that, so applied, it would have had no distinctive signification. The schools of Ireland, were at the time celebrated for a science, which was eminently adapted to the Irish genius—rather quick and ingenious than solid or profound. A remark which, to apply to the modern Irish, must, we confess, undergo some allowances and deductions, for the modifications derived perhaps from an intermixture of blood. Scotus was born about the year 1266, in the province of Ulster, according to Cavellus, Luke, and Wadding:* he was educated in the university of Oxford, and became a Franciscan friar. From Oxford he went to the university of Paris, where his logical ability quickly made him eminent, and he became a follower of Thomas Aquinas, the famous angelical doctor. During his residence in Paris, he acquired universal applause by an exploit incidental to his age.

The itinerant sophist, has long disappeared with the knight errant and the travelling bard: the increase of knowledge has lessened the value of disputative skill, as the advance of civilization has somewhat cheapened the estimation of physical prowess: and the teeming profusion and facility of the press has obviated the necessity of the *viva voce* encounters of the controversialist. Some remains of this custom, may perhaps, be said to have yet a glimmering existence in Ireland; which in some respects is entitled to be called the *limbus Patrum* of antiquity: we allude to the known practice of the Irish hedge schools, of which the most distinguished scholars travel about from school to school, on a tour of disputation, in which they both add to their learning and endeavour to maintain superiority of knowledge.† This literary knight-errantry may perhaps be regarded as a monument of the time when the wandering doctors of Paris, Bologna, and Padua, and the still more subtle disciples of St Comgall's ancient university, used to travel from college to college, with the spear and shield of Aristotle—*peripatetic* in every sense—and win honours by proving black was white, in opposition to all antagonists. Duns, whose chivalry was in this at least not deficient, had early in life made a vow to support the honour of the Virgin. It was for this purpose that he presented himself to the university of Paris, and offered to maintain against all opponents, her freedom from original sin. A day was set, and the university assembled its powers and intelligence to witness this trial of dialectic skill. Many students and doctors of acknowledged reputation impugned the proposition of the Irish logician. Duns having fully stated the question, allowed his adversaries to discuss it in full detail; and for three interminable days the torrent of their logic flowed, and involved their hearers in the tangled web of scholastic distinctions. Meanwhile, Duns, nothing dismayed, sat listening with a patient and unmoved steadiness of aspect and demeanour, which puzzled all the spectators, and made every one think him a miracle of patience. They were however to be still more astonished, when—after three days of ceaseless verbosity had spun the question into two hun-

* Cited by Ware, *Scriptoribus Hib.* Ed. 1639.

† An ample and curious account of these worthies may be found in Carleton's *Traits and Stories of the Irish peasantry*.

dred elaborate arguments, and the Parisian disputants confessed there was no more to be said—Duns calmly arose and recited all their several arguments, which one after the other he unanswerably refuted. And then while the whole body were yet digesting his superiority in silent dismay, he recommenced and annihilated his already prostrate antagonists with some hundred more unanswerable arguments for the question. The university was convinced, and not only gave Duns his doctor's degree, with the well-merited title of the "subtle doctor," but also decreed that the doctrine thus affirmed should be held by the university in future. We may presume that the university kept its own law: but Duns was not to be tied by the webs of his own subtlety, and proved his claim at least to the title they conferred, by afterwards maintaining a different view of the question. The reputation of Duns grew, and his popularity increased, until it became unfit that he should any longer continue to be reputed the follower of another. To one like Duns, to whom every side of every question must have been equally conclusive, it was easy to find room to differ: and he soon found a fair field of controversy with his great Neapolitan master, Aquinas.

Of Aquinas, our reader may wish to know some particulars. He was the son of the illustrious family of Aquino, in the Terra di Lavoro, in Italy. Contrary to the wish of his parents he became a Dominican friar; and the monks were compelled for some time to remove him from place to place, to maintain their possession of a youth of such high promise. He was at one time seized during a journey by his brothers, and kept for two years in confinement; he was however found out by the Dominicans, and with their aid contrived to let himself down from a window, and escaped. At last having completed the course of study then pursued, he went to Paris and took a doctor's degree: from Paris he returned to Italy, and set up his school at Naples. He soon began to be regarded as the great light of the age, and more than any other writer contributed to the triumph of the scholastic over the ideal or mystic schools. He was among the first and greatest of those who introduced the theological method of collecting and digesting into a theory, the doctrines of scripture. His system, immediately on its publication, received the most distinguished honour and acceptance—and he was ranked after death by Pius V. as the fifth doctor of the church; he was also called the angel of the church, and the angelical doctor. His death took place in 1274, and he was canonized by pope John XXII.*

Such was the mighty antagonist which Duns assailed. The nature of the co-operation between divine grace and human will, and the measure of imparted grace necessary to salvation, were among the most prominent points of difference. The Dominicans sided with their own great light: the Franciscans were no less arduous in support of their subtle doctor; and a violent division renewed the animosity of these two famous orders. Such was the origin of the two sects who are known by the names of Scotists and Thomists.†

Scotus returned from Paris to Oxford, where he for some time cen-

* Enfield's Philosophy.

† Mosheim.

tinued to preach and write, with increasing celebrity. But again, visiting Paris, he was tempted to make an effort to settle in a place which was the stage of his greatest celebrity. He continued to teach there for about one year, when he was summoned away by the general of the Franciscans to Cologne. On his approach to Cologne, he was received with all the honour due to his reputation. Here he continued his course of teaching to the numerous scholars whom his renown attracted, until his death. He was one day engaged in delivering a lecture to a crowded audience, when a sudden stroke of paralysis arrested his discourse; it proved fatal in a few hours. His works filled twelve massive folios—which remain a monument of his formidable fertility; and, considering that he died in his 42d year, present no slight illustration of the copious facility of a science which began and ended in words and verbal distinctions—a science which rejected the restraint of facts and the limits of the understanding—and with a compass beyond the grasp of Archimedes, pretended to wield infinity and omniscience without asking for a ground on which to rest the lever of the schools.

Such a state of knowledge may well awaken the interest of many readers, not conversant in the history of the period. For the benefit of such we must now attempt the performance of the promise with which we commenced this memoir; and as in the life of Sacrobosco we gave a cursory sketch of the science of the age, so we shall now offer some brief notice of the philosophy of the schools.

The earlier writers of the church had derived their system of theology from the scriptures. In the course of time, by a natural and very intelligible transition, these earlier divines themselves became the text-book of authority, and gradually began to occupy the place of the scriptures; thus in the decline of literature and philosophy, leading gradually to their disuse. Theology, thus removed from its foundations, was thrown open to the bewildering ingenuity of speculation. The corrupted Platonism of the Alexandrian school, early adopted into the theological school, and largely infused into many of the ancient writers, became in some measure the substance of opinion and controversy; and it is chiefly to the Irish schools of the middle ages that the honour is attributed of an idea which, though sadly misapplied, was yet in its principle not devoid of justness. It was proposed as a new discovery, that it was unworthy to take truths of such importance upon the opinions of fallible authorities, when they might themselves, by the exercise of reason, ascertain what was true from the original documents. But unfortunately, they were utterly devoid of any just knowledge of the use or the limits of reason. From the scripture—by the application of the most absurd system of metaphysics that ever was wiredrawn from sophistry and superstition, in the absence of common sense—they spun the sacred text into allegories and idealisms, that seem more like the ravings of delirium, than the sober interpretation of Divine truths revealed to human apprehension. Such briefly was the form taken by the ancient sect known by the name of Mystics, whose earlier history it does not suit our limits to enter upon. It is perhaps best understood to have arisen anew from the study of Augustine, whose writings it strongly tinctures, and who was a favourite in the cloisters of the middle ages.

A weak glimmer of the peripatetic logic, existing in the same periods, seems to have had little influence in correcting this abuse: the early writers of the church had condemned the writings of Aristotle as inconsistent with divine truth: and the only surviving remains of logical science seems to have been an imperfect system of dialectics ascribed to St Augustin, who was at one time an ardent follower of the Stoic philosophy. At length however an increased communication with Arabia, when about the twelfth century it became customary for learned men to travel in quest of knowledge, was the means of introducing Saracenic translations of the works of Aristotle. The immediate consequence was an infusion of new opinions into the church, founded upon new methods of reasoning.

The church, vigilant in the superintendence of opinion, soon found cause to check the growing evil. Several doctors tested by the jealous thermometer of orthodoxy, were found wanting in the standard shade of Platonism—they were cited before councils, and had their books publicly burned—fortunate in preceding by a few years the period when they might have shared a common fate with their offending volumes. A general prohibition of the writings of Aristotle quickly ensued.

At a somewhat earlier period such a prohibition would have been imperatively felt; but it was a time when a fresh impulse had been imparted to the human mind: the world was awaking from a long sleep, and men in every country of Europe began to look around for light. The orthodox bowed submission, but the schools were at the moment filled with the swarming race of a new generation, and the writings of Aristotle were zealously studied. The mind of the schools soon became largely infused with the elements of a new spirit; and the youth of the age grew up with a deeply imbued love of disputation and subtlety. The church itself felt and yielded to the strong reaction; and, when the growing evil could no longer be suppressed, with its ever admirable tact and sagacity, endeavoured to neutralize and gradually adopt the perilous instrument of human reason. Fortunately for its views, some steps of progress were still wanting to make the instrument dangerous. The love of logic grew; and it became the subject of loud complaint that disputation filled the schools with its noise, and occupied the place of all other study. Disputation became the pride and study of the scholar and the business of life—victory became the source of fame and the test of opinion. The consequence is easily inferred, for it was inevitable. Opinion thus became the end of all study, and took the place of the love of truth. The instincts of the mind were sophisticated; the subtle, word-splitting Scholastic was the fruit of this anomalous culture.

A few words must here be said on the writings, which were the foundation of this corruption of human reason. The writings of Aristotle were but imperfectly understood by their Arabian translators, and became additionally corrupt in the transfusion of a second medium. Originally obscure from the strictly scientific method of the Greek philosopher, and the total absence of those indirect artifices of style which are commonly used for illustration, an erroneous and fantastic commentary swelled the volume, and was received as the better part of its substance, so that to use the language of a historian,

the students were as much indebted to Averroes as to Aristotle. A philosophy at the same time corrupt, obscure, and peculiarly unadapted to the state of human knowledge at the period, gradually filled the schools. Its effects were in no respect beneficial—a generation unacquainted with the uses of reasoning, and destitute of the first elements of real knowledge on which it must proceed, became smitten with a deep love of its forms. The syllogistic method—which accurately represents the operation of reasoning,* and offers both an excellent discipline to the intellect, and a certain test to the value of inference from ascertained premises—was mistaken for something which it did not pretend to be. It became, in the hands of subtle ignorance, a superstition of the intellect—a sort of verbal magic by which any thing could be proved. The forms of reason were substituted in the place of reason, and words took the place of things: for nearly four hundred years the just progress of the human understanding was retarded by the quibbling and interminable jargon of men like Aquinas and Scotus, and the German doctor Albertus, through whom the European schools became acquainted with the writings of the Stagyrte.†

Thus misunderstood and misapplied, Aristotle, from being first opposed by the policy of the church, soon acquired universal dominion. “And so far from falling under the censure of councils and popes, the Aristotelian and Saracenic philosophy became the main pillars of the ecclesiastical hierarchy. In the year 1366, cardinals were appointed by Urban to settle the manner in which the writings of Aristotle should be studied in the university of Paris: and in the year 1462, Charles VII. ordered the works of Aristotle to be read and publicly explained in that university. Thus the union between the peripatetic philosophy and the Christian religion was confirmed, and Aristotle became not only the interpreter, but even the judge of St Paul.”‡ From this period to the Reformation, the church and the universities resounded with dispute and frothy contentions, long and difficult to specify by clear and intelligible distinction: the Thomist and Scotist, of whom we have mentioned the leading differences—the still more prolonged and vehement controversy of the Nominalists and Realists, which we shall fully state in our memoir of Bishop Berkeley, with half a dozen main shades of opinion, were contested with idle words and not idle hands, in foaming disputation and sanguinary fray.

The reformers in their turn produced a re-action, which, however salutary it must be admitted to have been in arresting the further advance of this state of philosophy, passed into the opposite extreme. Though it introduced a sound exercise of reason, and a return to the legitimate field of facts, yet by the law of opposition, so universally discernible in human opinion, they confounded the instrument with the vitiated use to which it had been applied. With the indiscriminate vigour of immature knowledge, in rejecting the doctrines they cast away all that was even accidentally in contact with them. In condemning the adversary, the house in which he lived, the garb he wore,

* See Whately's *Logic* for a satisfactory explanation on this long unnoticed fact.

† Gillies' *Introduction to Aristotle's Rhetoric*.

‡ Enfield's *Abridgment of Brucker*.

the very ground he trode on, grew criminal in their eyes. Among the many extrinsic adjuncts of Romanism thus condemned, the vast intellectual outwork of the scholastic philosophy could not hope to escape; and the works of Aristotle, unhappily confounded with this tumid and inane excrescence of human reason, were denounced.—“With the light of the gospel,” writes Mr Gillies, “the champions of the Reformation dispelled the pestilent exhalations, and disparted the gorgeous but cloud-built castles with which the schoolmen had surrounded a fortress of adamant; for the genuine philosophy of Aristotle remained entire, unhurt, and alike concealed from the combatants on either side. The reformers, engaged in an infinitely greater undertaking, were not concerned in distinguishing the master from his unworthy scholars, and in separating the gold from the dross.”* The violence of opposition, which was the speedy result of this indiscriminating but perfectly natural (and not unjustifiable) spirit, pursued the Stagyrite to his last retreats, the walls of colleges. The general reader of the present age, will easily indeed recall the reproaches of the light-armed and superficial skirmishers of modern reviews and pamphlets discharged against the university of Oxford, on the score of the assumed worship of Aristotle. His works, only known to some of the leading writers of the very last generation, through the same impure sources from which they were presented to Scotus and his clamorous fraternity, were ignorantly assailed, and as ignorantly defended. The profound and elementary comprehension of Bacon, the perspicacious common sense of the admirable Locke, handed down the same subtle errors to the essentially scholastic intellect of Hume. Kames, Harris, Monboddo, Reid, and Stewart, all combined, in more or less specious inaccuracy and misapprehension; and it seems to have remained for the latest writings which have proceeded from the universities of Dublin and Oxford, to dispel the false medium either by strong remonstrance or clear and demonstrative exposition. To the leading writers who might be noticed at length on this subject, we have given as much notice, as the summary character of our undertaking permits. We shall conclude this notice with an extract from one of the most distinguished writers of the age—an illustrious ornament of our Irish university, whose memoir must hereafter give value and interest to our pages—the late worthy and able prelate, archbishop Magee. “It has been singularly the fate of the Greek philosopher, to be at one time superstitiously venerated, and at another contemptuously ridiculed, without sufficient pains taken, either by his adversaries or his admirers, to understand his meaning. It has been too frequently his misfortune to be judged from the opinions of his followers rather than his own. Even the celebrated Locke is not to be acquitted of this unfair treatment of his illustrious predecessor in the paths of metaphysics; although, perhaps, it is not too much to say of his well known essay, that there is scarcely to be found in it one valuable and important truth concerning the operations of the understanding, which may not be traced in Aristotle’s writings; whilst, at the same time, they exhibit many results of deep thinking, which have

* Preface to Aristotle’s Rhetoric, p. 23.

entirely escaped Locke's perspicacity. Indeed, it may be generally pronounced of those who have, within the two last centuries, been occupied in the investigation of the intellectual powers of man, that had they studied Aristotle more, and (what would have been a necessary consequence) reviled him less, they would have been more successful in their endeavours to extend the sphere of human knowledge.*

This curious transition of human knowledge has led us on to a length of remark which we do not consider due to Scotus; unless, perhaps, it be considered, that the eminence which he attained in the sophistry of his age, must still have been the result of some highly distinguished intellectual powers. They were unhappily wasted gifts. His voluminous works, too long for the narrow period assigned to human study, repose with monumental silence and oblivion on the shelves of learned libraries—the too quiet habitations of the unmolested spider, who builds in their safe obscurity, and emulates their labours with skill as fine and less abused. If in a listless moment the student casts his wandering eye over the ponderous masses of unopened lore which seem to encumber the shelves of neglected school divines, his mind may be crossed by a reflection on the vast toil of thought and earnest stress of passion, the years of study and ambitious hope to gain distinction, which were melted down in the accumulation of those most neglected labours. He may thus be conducted by a widely different track to the same feelings, which the moral poet has expressed in the most simply just and eloquent strain which human pen ever wrote, upon the vanities of this life of wasted faculties and fleeting duration:—

“ Perhaps in this neglected spot is laid,
Some mind once pregnant with celestial fire;
Hands which the red of empires might have awayed,
Or waked to ecstasy the living lyre.”

Malachy Mac Aedha.

DIED A. D. 1348.

MALACHY MAC AEDHA, or, as he was otherwise designated, Hugh's Son, was consecrated archbishop of Tuam about the year 1313, having been previously bishop of Elphin. He recovered the see of Enaghduin, which he held for twenty years before his death, his predecessor Birmingham having made fruitless efforts to join it to Tuam.† Malachy was the author of a large volume of miscellaneous writings in Irish, containing a catalogue of the Irish kings, from Neal Nigiolach to Roderick O'Connor, and entitled “The Book of Hugh's Son.” He died at a very advanced age, and was buried at Tuam, in the cathedral church of St Mary's. Ware considers a prophecy, attributed to Tarlath, as having been written by him.

* *Mages on the Atonement.*

† Ware

Angus Roe O'Daly.

A. D. 1350.

AMONG other poems written by O'Daly, one of four hundred and forty-eight verses is extant. The first portion of it is devoted to Adam and the patriarchs before the flood, and the remainder to the colonies which settled in Ireland, and possessed the island before the arrival of the Milesians. The time of his death is uncertain.

Giolla Brighide Mac Coinmhíde.

A. D. 1350.

MAC COINMHÍDE, or CONWAY, a poet of Ulster, and a retainer of the house of O'Donell, wrote a variety of poems in honour of that warlike race. A copy of one of them, addressed to Brian, son of Donald O'Donell, prince of Tirconell, is preserved in a very valuable volume of Irish historical poems, collected in the Netherlands, in the year 1656, by the Rev. Nicholas O'Gara. He also wrote in verse, the history of Moain, grandson of Niall of the nine hostages. From Moain are descended the Cineal Muain, one of the chief families of which are the O'Gormlys.

Giolla-na-Naomh O'Huidrin.

DIED A. D. 1420.

GIOLLA-NA-NAOMH O'HUIDRIN, a very learned historian, completed, as was before related, the topographical history in verse, begun by John O'Dugan; adding to it the chief portion descriptive of Leinster and its kings, and the entire of that respecting Munster. This addition consists of seven hundred and eighty verses, and a copy of it is in the handwriting of Cucoigariche O'Clery.

Faelan Mac a Gobhan.

DIED A. D. 1423.

FAELAN MAC A GOBHAN is remarkable for having transcribed a great portion of that voluminous compilation called the Book of the O'Kellys;* for which family it was originally collected from a great variety of authors, and remained in their possession until 1757. It is a large folio, written in vellum, and is at present in the possession of

* See an account of this book in the "Transactions of the Ibero-Celtic Society," a valuable work, which has furnished many facts in the preceding Lives.

Sir William Betham. It contains a poem of two hundred and twenty-eight verses, composed by Faelen himself.* "It gives the names of the wives and daughters of several of the Pagan heroes and deities. This is followed (in the folio) with an account of the wives of the patriarchs, and a synchronism of the Roman emperors, with the monarchs of Ireland, to the emperor Severus, and Art the Solitary, monarch of Ireland, from A. D. 220 to 250, in which latter year he died. After this, (in immediate succession) follows an account of the Jewish high priests and the first Christian bishops, the officers of St Patrick's household, and different members of his family."

"We cannot say," observes our authority, "whether these latter tracts are the original productions of Faelan Mac a Gobhan or not; but by a memorandum at the bottom of the folio, it is said that they were written by Faelan Mac a Gobhan *na scel* (of the histories) for his lord and his friend, bishop Muircheartach O'Kelly. This prelate was bishop of Clonfert from 1378 to 1394, at which time he was translated by pope Boniface IX. to the see of Tuam, over which he presided as archbishop until his death, on the 29th of September, 1447." Fealan Mac a Gobhan died in 1423.

Donogh O'Bolgaith.

A. D. 1468.

DONAGH O'BOLGAIDH, or BOULGER, was a physician of some eminence, and a voluminous writer of medical treatises, and also a transcriber of the writings of others on the same subject. He wrote treatises on the diseases of the head, and of the other members of the human body, and makes frequent quotations from the Arabian physicians in these works. He also wrote a tract on the medicinal virtues of herbs and minerals; and there remains in his handwriting a translation of Aristotle's treatise "On the Nature of Matter." There is a curious addition to his writings, in the form of a law tract, in which he regulates the fees or rewards to be paid to physicians by the different classes of society.

The exact year of his death is not known.

Cathald Mac Magnus.

DIED A. D. 1498.

CATHALD MAC MAGNUS was author of those annals of Ireland, called "Annals of Bally Mac Magnus," "Scuatensian Annals," and "Annals of Ulster." They commence with the reign of Feredach Fionnfactnach, monarch of Ireland, A. D. 60, and are carried down to the author's own time. They were afterwards continued to the year 1504, by Roderick O'Cassidy, archdeacon of Clogher.†

* Ware.

† Transactions of the Ibero-Celtic Society.

The annals of the *Four Masters* give the character, and relate the death of Cathal, in words of which the following is a literal translation:—

"Mac Magnus of Seanaigh, i.e. Cathal Og, son of Cathal, son of Giolla Patrick, son of Matthew, &c., was master of a house of general hospitality, and a public victualler in Seanaidh Mac Magnus; canon of the choir in Ardmach, and in the bishopric of Clogher; parson of Tuiscsoin; Deacon of Lough Erne; and deputy of the bishop of Clogher, for fifteen years before his death. He was an encourager and protector of learning and science in his own district; a treasured branch of the canons; a fountain of love and mercy to the poor and unprotected of God's people. It was he who collected and brought together many books of annals, from which he compiled the *Annals of Bally Mac Manus*, for himself. He died of the small-pox, on the 10th of the calends of April, on a Friday, in particular, in the sixtieth year of his age."

Manus O'Donell.

DIED A. D. 1532.

MANUS, son of Rodh, of the princely house of O'Donell, was author of a life of St Patrick, often quoted by Colgan. It is uncertain whether he was also the author of some poems, written about the same period, and attributed to a writer of the same name.

Teige O'Cooley.

A. D. 1554.

ABOUT this period, Teige *Mor* O'Cooley composed a poem in praise of Manus, son of Aodh Dubh O'Donell, "who gave the writer a mare of his stud for every raun contained in the poem. It consists of twenty ranns, or eighty verses."*

Donald Mac Carthy.

DIED A. D. 1565.

DONALD MAC CARTHY, who was created in this year first earl of Clan Carthy, was the author of several poems, chiefly on religious subjects.

* Transactions of the *Iberno-Celtic Society*.

John O'Maolconaire.

A. D. 1566.

AT the time that Brian na Murtha O'Rourke was chosen chief of his tribe, on the death of his brother Aodh, John O'Maolconaire wrote a poem of an hundred and thirty-six verses, in praise of Brian na Murtha, (of the bulwarks,) beginning "Breifne has obtained a prince worthy of her." This poem is stated, by Mr O'Reilly, who had a copy of it in his own possession, to be written "in the Bearla Feine, or Phœnician dialect of the Irish," and assigns as a reason for his selecting it, that "the dialect of the plebeians was unworthy of his hero."*

Roderick M'Crath.

A. D. 1584.

WHEN Feagh M'Hugh O'Byrne was elected chief of his tribe, Roderick wrote an ode on his inauguration, of one hundred and twenty verses, in Irish, beginning "A warning to assemble the race of Brann!" The Brann here mentioned was Brann the Black, king of Leinster, who died in the year 601, from whom the O'Brainns or O'Byrnes derive their name and lineage.† He also wrote a poem on the family of O'Byrne of Ranelagh, who so long contended against the English. Copies of these poems are in the possession of the family of O'Byrne, of Cabinteely.‡

Dubhthach O'Duigenan.

A. D. 1588.

DUBHTHACH, or DUFFY, wrote two very long poems, containing chronicles of the families of O'Neill and O'Donell for centuries. That addressed to Aodh, or Hugh O'Neill, embraces a period of two hundred and sixteen years; and the poem on the O'Donell family four hundred: the latter is three hundred and sixty-eight verses in length. It is written in Irish, and begins, "Let us pursue the chronicle of *Clann Dalaigh*." The O'Donells are called by the Irish, *Clann Dalaigh*, and Muintin Dalaigh (Daly), from Dalach, their great ancestor, and derive their name of O'Donell from his grandson Donall Mor.§ This poem gives a catalogue of twenty-five kings or princes who governed Tírconnell, from Eigneachan O'Donell in 1199, to Hugh Roe O'Donell in 1600, when this poem was written.

* See on this subject, page 11, vol. i.

† O'Reilly.

‡ Ibid.

§ Ibid.

Edmund Spenser.

BORN A. D. 1553—DIED A. D. 1596.

SPENSER, though he, along with many of our noblest names of this period and the following, can be claimed by Ireland only by a partial interest, has yet an unquestionable claim to be commemorated by the historian of her literary worthies. If England was the country of his birth, we deny her not the claim that ranks him among the highest names of her most glorious age; but we claim a compatriot interest in the poet of Kilcolman: Ireland was the birthplace of his muse.

Like many illustrious persons, who have in those unrecording ages sprung from an humble state by the ascendant qualities of genius, the early part of Spenser's career is little known. It seems to be ascertained that he was born in London, in or about 1553; and it appears, from several passages among his dedications, that he claimed kindred with the noble house of Spenser. The claim is also said to have been recognised; but the recognition is not affirmed by any record of kind offices done, in the course of the poet's long struggles with fortune. The noble by birth will always feel some natural reluctance in admitting such claims, although native nobility of spirit, like conscious innocence, will neither fear nor find reproach where there can be no dishonour. But we apprehend that the noblest house in England would now point back to this coldly received affinity with a far different feeling, and would rejoice if it were to be found among the honourable records of its history, that the noblest of its lineage, in the estimation of time, had some nearer proof of kindred than a doubtful implication of assent. We do not indulge this reflection in the ridiculous spirit of condemnation—the claim may have been uncertain and remote, and circumstances are wholly wanting to warrant any judgment in the case. We merely express the strong suggestion arising from a circumstance, which forces a common and affecting condition of social life upon the heart:—the fact, if such, is but one among those common incidents, thick strewn in the course of every generation. The healthy and elastic sense of tender youth is not more quick to shrink from the revolting aspect of the dead, than the full-blown pride of the world to avoid the humiliating contact of a fallen or struggling relationship: bright and honourable exceptions there are, but such is the spirit of human life: *corruptus vanis rerum*. And we must in justice add, that it is not altogether from the want of beneficence, but from that species of pride which finds it essential to be separated from the humiliations of circumstance. It is still felt by the crowd which is inflated with adventitious dignity, as intensely as it was by the patrician usurers of old Rome, that there is something in the power of fortune which lowers and degrades: *quod ridiculos homines facit*. But we are led from our purpose. Spenser does not seem, at any period of his life, to have been in any way advantaged by family assistance; and the only record we can find, on any certain authority, of his youth, is his entrance as a sizar on the books of Pembroke Hall, Cambridge. Here he graduated in 1576. He is said to have sat for a fellowship

in competition with Andrew, afterwards bishop of Winchester. That he was not successful is scarcely matter of regret: his subsequent career might have been more usefully and calmly secure, but we cannot doubt that after-ages are indebted rather to the vicissitude and striving with the adverse waves and winds of stern reality, which has imparted so much truth and substance to his chief writings. Instead of being permitted to indulge his dreamy spirit in the lettered trifling of the bookish cloister, he was thrown soon upon the exercise of all his senses, and compelled to infuse a large portion of corrective observation and experience with the Gothic phantasmagoria of his lofty and sequestered spirit. Spenser, however, in the instance here mentioned, was practical enough to look rather to the present good; and dreaming little of being starved or buffeted into the admiration of posterity, was as discontented as beaten candidates are very prone to be; and was encouraged, by the countenance of some of his university friends, in the complaint of having met with injustice.

Among his warmest friends was the then celebrated Gabriel Harvey, who is mentioned by Warton as being the inventor of the hexameter imitation of the Latin, and who is the "Hobbinal" of Spenser. By Harvey's advice, Spenser resolved to try his fortune in London. It was an age of literary adventure—the public favour towards poetry stood at a point to which it never again rose until the nineteenth century: but the circumstances of these two periods were wholly different. There was in the Elizabethan age, commonly called the age of poetry, no vast commercial republic of letters, of which the comprehensive and steady organization worked with the uniformity and precision of a factory; manufacturing books to the public demand, as nearly as possible, by the laws of every other produce of human labour, and with the very lowest application of mental power. Sonnet and lampoon, epigram and eulogy, it is true, like the periodical effusions of the annuals and periodicals of our time, were the universal accomplishment and affectation of the day. But few books were printed—there was no "reading public"—and no book-mill as regular as the market, and almost as needful, to pour out its vast exuberance of publications, planned, bespoken, and conducted by the trade, and wrought by operatives of every grade, from the genius and learning of Scott, Southey, and Moore, to the journeyman tinker of Brummagem books, who does his task to order, in a workmanlike way. At that interesting period, it required no small enthusiasm, and the excitement of no little genius, to brave the perils and mortifications of the tuneful avocation. Like the way-faring harper, he had to seek fit audience. He had to meet the indifference of the vast crowd of the uneducated, the unsettled taste, or fastidious insolence of the smattering underbred, the insolence of fashion, and the want of the adventurous trade, then but in its infancy. His one resource was a patron, and it expresses the whole:—

"Toil, envy, want, the patron and the gaol."

Much of this Spenser was destined to experience; but it appears that his first introduction was smoothed by the friendship of the noble and gallant Sidney, to whom he received an introduction from the kindness

of his college friend, Gabriel Harvey. Two different stories are told concerning this introduction, which might be reconciled only by a very considerable change in the order of the incidents of Spenser's early life. According to one account, we should be compelled to assume, that either his introduction to Sidney was later than the time stated, or that he received, in the first instance, a very small portion of his patron's countenance, and was soon forgotten. The story runs thus:—That when Spenser had completed the ninth canto of the first book of the *Fairy Queen*, he repaired to Leicester House, and sent in a copy to Sidney, who, on reading a few stanzas, was so astonished and delighted at the description of Despair, that, turning to his steward, he bade him give fifty pounds to the person who brought these verses: on reading the next stanza, he ordered him to give a hundred. The amazed steward thought fit to make some delay, in hopes that his lord might come to his senses, and estimate the verses more nearly at the current rate of scribbling; but after the next stanza, Sidney raised the sum to two hundred, and forbade any further delay, lest he might be tempted to give away his whole estate. The story must have some ground in reality; but that which it would displace is founded on a larger combination of occurrences, and occupies more space in his history. According to the more received account, Spenser's first movement on leaving college was a visit to his own family in the north of England. There he produced some minor poems, and continued in some uncertainty as to his future course, when his friend Harvey wrote to him from London, where he was himself gaining ground as a poet, strongly urging him to try his fortune in the same adventurous field. Spenser was easily persuaded; and on his arrival was introduced by his friend to Sidney, who, at once recognising his high pretension, took him into his household, and carried him with him to Penhurst, where he made use of his taste and judgment in the compositions on which he was himself engaged. This is the more probable and best sustained account: it has also the merit of offering to the reader's mind a sweet and singular picture of the high communion of the two noblest hearts and loftiest intellects of their age, in the sequestered haunts of contemplation and fancy, while the affections, and the aspirations of ambition were young in both.

In the course of his northern residence, during which some conjecture, with no small likelihood, that he was engaged in tuition, Spenser is said to have fallen in love with the lady whom, under the name of *Rosalind*, he celebrates in his pastorals; which are full of her cruelty and her lover's despair. But as the lady is as much the appendage of poesy as of chivalry, it is very probable that the fierceness of his despair found a full vent in the poem which first raised him to reputation, and took its permanent station in the poetry of England. These compositions were the best introduction to the favour of Sidney.

As is usual with the youthful poet, Spenser appears, during his residence with his patron, to have been engaged in wide speculations as to the adoption of a path worthy of his growing powers. The first was one highly illustrative of the age, but little worthy of the poet. The new enthusiasm for classic antiquity—the imperfection of English style, and the exquisite grace and finish of those great standard works

of Greek and Roman genius, which alone seem equally attractive in every change of language, literature, and climate—most naturally suggested the adoption of the metre of Virgil and Ovid, the favourites of the age—with these, of course, the whole train of Latin harmonies would be attempted. In this curious appropriation, Spenser, with many other writers, was for a time employed; and the conception was not unworthy of the richest genius of the age: its disadvantages could only be discovered by trial.* Fortunately, Spenser, after some time, discovered a track more suited to the character and powers of his native tongue, and adapted with curious felicity to the rich Gothic solemnity of his genius. But of this we shall say more before we have done.

It seems that he soon recovered from an error which would have committed his labours to the waste-paper grave of scholastic theology; and it is thought that he then began the *Fairy Queen*. This we are, however, inclined to consider as a doubtful point. His labours, whatever was their subject, quickly met with an interruption. His patron's influence soon introduced him for a time into other scenes than the civilized and tranquil shades of Penhurst. He was sent over to Ireland with Lord Grey of Wilton, who was appointed to the government of this island in 1580. Spenser was retained as his secretary; and, in scenes of civil strife and barbarism, so uncongenial to the muse, his course is for a time lost to the eye of history. Grey returned to England in two years; but Spenser obtained a grant of three thousand acres in the county of Cork, as a compensation for his service. It is supposed that he at this time had returned to England, where he remained until the death of Sidney, who, the reader is aware, was slain in the Low Countries in 1586. This afflicting incident closed the gate of preferment, and Spenser returned to fulfil the condition of his grant by residing on his estate.

Kilcolman Castle, or rather its ruin, is still to be seen, and is described by most historians of the county of Cork. It had belonged to the earls of Desmond, the former lords of the poet's estate, and of the whole district in which it was contained. The river Awbeg, on which it stood—the "Gentle Mulla" of the poet—rises near Buttevant, and enters the river Blackwater near Bridgetown. It winded with a smooth course through the (then) wooded and romantic solitudes of a widely pastoral district, presenting along its tranquil course numerous diversities of the lone and solemn scenery which fancy loves to people with her creatures of romance. The poet's dwelling was within about four miles of the present village of Doneraile, and looked out over a far expanse of plain, bounded by the distant eastward hills of the county of Waterford. The Rathnoure mountains closed the aspect on the north, the Nagle mountains on the south, and on the west the mountains of Kerry.

"The ruins present the remains of a principal tower, in a castellated building of some extent. The outlines and vestiges of several apartments may still be distinctly traced. The lower of these rooms seems

* The only successful attempt we can recollect at this species of composition, is the Supplic Ode which commences a book of the "Curse of Kehama."

to have been used as a hall or kitchen, and is arched with stone. The stairway of the tower still exists, and leads to the decayed remains of a small chamber. Little can be added concerning this interesting ruin, except that the remaining windows command extensive prospects.*

Here, then, Spenser began to reside in the year 1587, seven years from his first arrival in Ireland. And it has been observed, that the rural and scenic descriptions contained in many of his poems, and especially in the "Fairy Queen," are entirely drawn from the surrounding country: hence the "wild forests," and "wasteful woods," and the whole characteristic sylvan colouring of this poem. Nor would it be possible, without many a bold reach of conjecture, to trace the numerous latent transformations by which the incidents of time and place have become metamorphosed into the visions of poetic combination. Who that reads the opening of the twelfth canto—

"Then, when as cheerless night so covered had
Fair heaven with an universal cloud,
That every wight, dismay with darkness sad,
In silence and in sleep themselves did shroud,
She heard a shrilling trumpet sound aloud,"—

and recollects how faithfully the characteristic incident of Irish insurrection is presented, will fail to remember how often sadly familiar to the poet's ear must have been the "shrilling" horn from the nightly hills? The sudden harmony of "many bagpipes" among the thickest woods, and the "shrieking hubbubs" (an Irish word), can have no prototype in nature but the one. The scenery of the country is directly described in the following lines:—†

"Whylome, when Ireland flourished in fame
Of wealth and goodness, far above the rest
Of all that bear the British island's name,
The gods then used, for pleasure and for rest,
Oft to resort thereto, as seemed them best:
But none of all therein more pleasure found
Than Cynthia, that is sovereign queen profest
Of woods and forests which therein abound,
Sprinkled with wholesom waters, more than most on ground."

The manner in which the fawns, satyrs, and hamadryads, and all the poetical inhabitants of the woods, seem to have infested his imagination in the first portions of the "Fairy Queen," but more especially in Book I. Canto vi., appears to us decisive of the point—that it was here this poem was commenced, although the conception, and perhaps some rough sketching, may have previously existed.

It was while engaged in this retreat in the composition of his immortal work, that he was visited by Raleigh—the incident is described in "Colin Clout's come home again," in which he describes his friend who had just returned from Portugal as the "shepherd of the ocean,"

"I sate as was my trade
Under the foot of Mole, that mountain hore;

* Brewer.

† The lines are quoted by Brewer.

Keeping my sheep amongst the cool shade
 Of the green alders by the Mulla's shore,
 There a strange shepherd chanced to find me out ;
 Whether allured with my pipe's delight
 Whose pleasing sound shrilled far about,
 Or thither led by chance, I know not right ;
 Whom when I asked, from what place he came ?
 And how he hight ? himself he did ycleep
 The shepherd of the ocean by name,
 And said he came far from the main sea deep !

This visit was the means of drawing Spenser from his retreat: he read the three first books to his guest, whose enthusiastic spirit was fired with admiration. He conjured the poet to lose no time in its publication, and urged him so warmly to repair at once to London, that Spenser accompanied him, and the three first books were printed in the year 1590. Of his adventures on this occasion, the accounts are neither very abundant nor authentic. It is stated, with the highest probability, being in fact a matter of course, that he was introduced by Raleigh to the Queen, who appointed him Poet Laureate; but it is (with much probability) asserted by some without any pension. It is however affirmed, that the lord-treasurer, Burleigh, whose prudent parsimony exceeded his taste for verse, and his jealousy of court favour either his love of economy or his regard for merit, exerted his powerful influence to intercept the queen's favour. The fact seems ascertained by the complaints of Spenser, which with a pension of £50 would have been quite out of place. A story is told by all biographers, that the queen having read the *Fairy Queen*, ordered a gratuity of one hundred pounds to be paid to the author. Burleigh, to whom this command was addressed, with a well-feigned expression of surprise replied—"What! all this for a song?" "Then give him what is reason," answered Elizabeth, whose prudence was not less though her taste was more. Burleigh's estimate of "What is reason?" was slight indeed; and when Spenser, after an interval of suspense, discovered that he was likely to be without his expected recompense, he came to a determination to remind the queen of her promise, which he did by these lines:

"I was promised on a time
 To have reason for my rhyme;
 From that time, unto this season,
 I received not rhyme nor reason."

The queen, who thus learned the remissness of Burleigh, peremptorily commanded the payment of her order. The patent for his pension, may perhaps have succeeded this incident. There is another passage of Spenser, which seems to be descriptive of the incident here mentioned:—

"Full little knowest thou that hast not tried
 What ill it is in suing long to bide;
 To lose good days that might be better spent;
 To waste long nights in pensive discontent;
 To speed to-day to be put back to-morrow;

To feed on hopes to pine with fear and sorrow :
 To have thy prince's grace, yet want her peers ;
 To have thy asking, yet wait many years ;
 To fret thy soul with crosses and with cares ;
 To eat thy heart with comfortless despairs ;
 To fawn, to crouch, to wait, to ride, to run,
 To spend, to give, to want, to be undone.
 Unhappy wight, born to disastrous end
 That doth his life in so long tendance spend.*

But the favour of courts, proverbially uncertain, and the invidious dislike of intriguing ministers, were in some degree compensated by the friendship and admiration of the higher spirits of the age. If his fortunes did not advance with the rapidity of expectation, he must have at least felt the triumph of his genius. His publisher afforded the certain proof of the success which was most to be desired, by a spirited effort to collect and publish all his other pieces at the time extant.

Not long after this event, Spenser once more sought his poetical retirement on the banks of the Mulla; and with the short interval of a visit to London in the winter of 1591, continued for many years in the assiduous composition of the remaining books of the *Fairy Queen* and other well known works. It was during this period that he formed an attachment to the beautiful daughter of a merchant of Cork. Spenser was now approaching his fortieth year: he was compelled to experience the bitter sweets of a long and of course anxious probation; and often perhaps to be painfully reminded of his youthful attachment to the perfidious and fickle Rosalind. The Irish lady was remarkable for her due sense of the dignity of her sex, and her pride is celebrated by her lover.

" For in those lofty looks is close implied
 Scorn of base things, disdain of foul dishonour ;
 Threatening rash eyes which gaze on her so wide,
 That loose they be who dare to look upon her."†

In another sonnet he celebrates her

" Mild humbles mixt with awful majesty."

And again,

" Was it the works of nature or of art
 Which tempered so the features of her face,
 That pride and meekness mixt by equal part,
 Do both appear to adorn her beauty's grace ?"

After a courtship of three years, this proud young beauty relented, and some graceful verses describe the intoxicating delight of her first smiles. He was married in Cork, in 1554, and has left the record of one day's unalloyed happiness in the epithalamium he wrote on the occasion:—

* Mother Hubbard's Tale.

† Sonnets.

" Behold while she before the altar stands
Hearing the holy priest that to her speaks,
And blesses her with his two happy hands,
How the red roses flush up in her cheeks,
And the pure snow-white lovely vermeil stain,
Like crimson dyed in grain !
That even the angels, which continually
About the sacred altar do remain,
Forget their service, and about her fly,
Oft peeping in her face, which seems more fair
The more they on it stare.
But her sad eyes, still fixed upon the ground,
Are governed with a godly modesty
That suffers not a look to glance away
Which may let in a little thought unsound.
Why blush ye love ! to give to me your hand ?
The pledge of all our band."

Such was the happy commencement of a brief and troublous interval.

Not long after his marriage, Spenser paid a short visit to London, where he published three more books of the *Fairy Queen*, and presented his "View of the State of Ireland" to the queen. The next year he returned home, and for a little longer every thing wore the air of peaceful prosperity: he was happy in his wife, who had made him the father of two fair sons; and his character as a resident proprietor, as well as his reputation as a poet, began to win him golden opinions in the city and surrounding territory. He was recommended also by the crown, to the office of sheriff for Cork. But the rebellion of Tyrone broke upon these goodly prospects, and surrounded every peaceful habitation with restless disquietudes and apprehensions. The inmates of one of Desmond's castles could not sleep undisturbed by the terrors which left no home secure. Frightful rumours were the daily conversation; the quiet woods which the poet so long had peopled with the fawns, satyrs, and hamadryades in which his fancy loved to revel, teemed with no imaginary groups of wolfish kernes and ruffian bonaghts fiercely looking out upon his castle and awaiting the night: night was haunted by fearful apprehensions—evil noises mingled in the winds, and the echoing signal was heard among the hills. Hapless is their state who are under the influence of such terrors—inflicting by anticipation the sufferings which may not arrive. But this was not the good fortune of poor Spenser, of whose felicity we more lament the ruin because it was so complete. Blest in the union he had formed, a happy father, a husband much loving and much loved, admired, respected, and after a life of toil possessed of a growing fortune: one fatal hour reversed his fortunate position and sent him a houseless fugitive with his helpless family, again to try his fortune in the uncertain favour of which he had so long experience.

We cannot here offer any precise detail of the dreadful particulars of a disaster, the horror of which is perhaps better to be understood from a single incident than from any description. The poet with his family were compelled to fly with such precipitation, that their youngest infant was left behind. It was perhaps the error of the wretched

parents, inexperienced in popular convulsion, to imagine that a helpless and innocent babe could not be really in any risk; and they conceived that they had provided fully for its safety, by leaving the necessary directions for its journey on the following day, in a manner more accommodated to its tender age. The castle was plundered and burned, and the infant perished in the flames. The family only escaped by the promptness of their flight. They reached London, where they took lodgings in King Street.

Spenser never recovered from the shock of this calamity. Despair and discouragement clouded his breast, and his health sunk rapidly under the combination of grief, want, and the renewal of a painful servitude upon the capricious friendship of the great. We do not believe that he was utterly deserted in this distressing condition, because we do not believe in the utter baseness of mankind it would imply: feeling, generosity, and truth, can have no existence but in fable, if they are not to be found in the ranks of a high and polished aristocracy. But a just estimate of human nature, and a precise experience of the moral workings of society, is sufficient to account for the neglect which neither high worth, nor the possession of many friends, are enough to ward off. The generosity of the world is but an impulse, which its prudence more constant, is ever trying to limit and escape from: when the effort to relieve has been made, it is an easy thing to be satisfied that enough has been done, and to lay the blame of its actual insufficiency on the imprudence of the sufferer. The kindness is for the most part accompanied by counsel, for the most part inconsiderate, because it cannot be otherwise. It cannot be expected that any one will apply to the emergency of another that clear and elaborate scrutiny into the whole combination of their advantages and disadvantages which is necessary for conduct under the pressure of difficulty: counsel is cheap and easy, and all are ready to bestow it; but sound and considerate advice few have at their disposal when they need it for themselves. Our application of these reflections, is but conjectural, and the result of our own long observation of the ways of the world. But it is certain that Spenser had many high and influential friends, and claims of no slight order upon the sympathy of the good and wise, and upon the gratitude of all—the proudest ornaments of the Elizabethan age are Spenser and Shakespeare, with either of whom (different as they are) no other can be named. Poor Spenser with a family—stripped of his estate—with the claim of service and the noble title of genius—was, if not absolutely deserted, allowed to sink into neglect and penury. It is said, and not authoritatively contradicted, that when reduced to the most abject want, lord Essex sent him a sum of money which the poet's pride induced him to refuse. The circumstance is very likely to have received the exaggerations, so commonly attendant upon all incidents which can be distorted into scandal against the upper classes. We have already in another memoir,* had occasion to examine a very similar story. We however think it sufficiently confirms the general inference of his having suffered from want; nor can we entertain any doubt that his spirit must have been shattered and

* Life of Sheridan.—*Dublin University Magazine*, June, 1837.

his pride diseased into a morbid irritability by the sufferings and mortifications ever attendant upon such misfortunes.

It is, in the midst of these painful circumstances, cheering to contemplate the fact that his wife—the haughty beauty whom he had wooed for three years, and who adorned and exalted his short interval of worldly happiness—did not wrong the deep love and the immortalizing praises of the poet; but with the attachment and constancy peculiar to her sex, walked with him like a ministering angel in the fiery furnace of affliction and bitterness: confirming her claim in sober history, to the encomium with which poesy has handed down her name.

Spenser only survived his flight from the country of his adoption, “a little more than kin and less than kind,” for five years, and died at his inn in King street, in January, 1598, in the 45th year of his age. The world, which felt that he was to be no longer a burden, but thenceforth an honour, showered upon his heedless grave its most unavailing honours and distinctions. His funeral was conducted with a pomp more suited to his real merits, than to his fortunes. The earl of Essex contributed the cost, and the poets of the day came to shower their verses into his grave. He was buried in Westminster Abbey, next to Chaucer, the only other name that could yet be named with his. His wife is understood to have survived him for some years, but not to have married again. His two sons had descendants, but have left no trace in our history; they found their way to their native country, but did not recover their father's estate. Sylvanus married a Miss Nangle of Moneanymy, in the county of Cork: by her he had Edmund and William Spenser. The other son, Peregrine, left also a son, who was afterwards reinstated by the court of claims, in all that could be ascertained of the Kilcolman estate. He was however afterwards outlawed for his adherence to James II. The property was again recovered to the family by William Spenser, the grandson of Sylvanus, by means of lord Halifax. It has however long passed away, and with it all distinct traces of the family. They are not however the less likely to be still existing: property is the stem of the genealogical tree, of which the leaves and branches cannot long survive the support.

It is a part of our most especial duty to offer something more than the mere history of the *Fairy Queen*, a production of which neither the characteristic style nor the local origin can be separated from the woods and streams of the county of Cork. Milton, whose mind was more deeply imbued with the poetry of Spenser than seems to have been noticed, describes this poem with his usual graphic precision in his divine *Il Penseroso*:—

“ And if ought else great bards beside
In sage and solemn tunes have sung
Of turneys and of trophies hung,
Of forests and enchantments drear,
When more is meant than meets the ear.”

Besides its intrinsic merits as a great masterpiece of English poetry, the *Fairy Queen* is a composition of peculiar interest both to the nati-

quary and the moral historicism, on account of the fidelity with which it may be said to reflect the opinions, manners, superstitions, and the whole spirit of the age. The full evidence of this, is only to be collected from a more intimate acquaintance with the numerous neglected writings, and the forgotten and exploded superstitions with which these obscure records are replete.

To attempt even a summary of this would involve us in the discussion of a variety of topics, not easily dismissed within the limits we should wish to preserve. The literature of England and that of our island, yet continued remotely apart from each other both in material and character. The literature of Ireland was, like her language, the relic of a remote civilization, for centuries on the decline and tending to no revival. English literature was just breaking fresh from the shackles, and impediments of a long but retarded progress into a fresh and glorious adolescence—under the head and heart expanding influence of the reformation. The prejudices and superstitions of earlier times rejected from the enlarging dominion of reason were delivered up to the fancy or imagination: from reality they melted into the sombre magnificence of poetry. All that was solemn, terrific, or magnificent—all that was influential over character and feeling—all that had possessed the spirit and given its whole form to the external manners of the previous age—yet held a modified power over the heart of the world, and a venerable charm in its recollections. Such is the law of moral transition—the expansion of the intellect long precedes the real alteration of the moral constitution of the breast. It is on this principle that the ghost and fairy have so long held their place in modern fiction: there is a faith of the imagination, which long outlives the stern exposures of reason. There is not indeed, when we would truly estimate the extent to which the poetry of an age reflects its actual spirit, a more essential consideration than this, that it is not in the knowledge of its books, or by the actions of its leading characters (all that history records), the world is to be truly seen: it is not so in this age of diffusive education, and was not so when knowledge was nearly confined to those, who were engaged in the extension of its bounds. As the German poet, (or his translator) says—

“To us, my friend, the times that are gone by
Are a mysterious book, sealed with seven seals:
That which you call the spirit of ages past
Is but in truth the spirit of some few authors,
In which those ages are beheld reflected
With what distortion strange, Heaven only knows.”

From the surviving lucubrations of the academy or the cloister, in which little of external life can be *felt* (the only knowledge of life,) or from history which is but an abstract of gross results, or a record of facts, connected by the webwork of the writer's art;* there is little to

* We have borrowed the phrase from the same writer, to whom we are indebted for the quotation above.

“History!
Facts dramatised say rather—action—plot—
Sentiment, every thing the writer's own,
As it best fits the webwork of his story.”—*Faustus*, p. 39.

convey the true character of a remote age,—it is to be inferred only from an intense realization of circumstances to be laboriously gleaned from a large collation of remains and records: but the nearest approach must ever be made, by a fair allowance for the representation of the poet, and the record of transmitted customs and superstitions.

The real spirit of the public mind of the age of Elizabeth, was not materially varied from the quaint and simple character of many previous generations—a few loftier pinnacles had emerged into the upward beams of morning light—but the plains and valleys lay in twilight. The fairy people played their feats and gambols on the forest glade—and the bar-ghosts and goblins of midnight were indistinctly visible. The student still endeavoured to draw responses from the stars—or brooded over the furnace and crucible, in the feverish vigil of “hope deferred.” The Gothic pageantry—the chivalric spirit of all the quaint solemnities with which a long lapse of ages of growing civilization had endeavoured to refine and ornament life, held a customary sway over the mind of every class and order, and moulded the age. These features are apparent in a multitude of ancient writers now little known, and may be traced in every record of manners in the Elizabethan age. Amid the splendour of the genius and wisdom of that glorious age, may be discerned the ghastly empiricism which passed for knowledge—the absurd traditions which passed for history—the quaint and scholastic, but often just and lofty ethics, stiffened with a pasteboard panoply of conceits and allegories by the taste for mysticism which is so congenial to the infancy of knowledge, as well as by the seemingly opposite but equally allied tendency to give a palpable form and representation to the invisible and spiritual. Hence indeed the gorgeous masques, moralities and mysteries, with their grotesque and cumbrous machinery of virtues, graces, and mythologic beings, the delight of that generation to which they were fraught with an intense ideal and moral interest, unintelligible to the children of our shrewd age. “In the reign of queen Elizabeth,” says Warton, “a popular ballad was no sooner circulated than it was converted into a moralization.” The moralization passed into a pageantry, which was but a costly improvement on the cap and bells of simpler times. In a coarse and simple age the passions are likely to occupy a prominent place in the productions of taste or fancy. “No doubt,” writes an author of that period, “the cause that books of learning seem so hard, is, because such and so great a scull of amaroise pamphlets have so preoccupied the eyes and ears of men, that a multitude believe there is none other style or phrase worth gramercy. No books so rife or so friendly read, as be these books. But if the setting out of the wanton tricks of a pair of lovers, as for example, let them be called Sir Chaunticleere and Dame Partilote, to tell how their first combination of love began, how their eyes floated, and how they anchored, their beams mingled one with the other’s beauty. Then, of their perplexed thoughts, their throes, their faulies, their dryric drifts, now interrupted, now unperfitted, their love days, their sugred words, and their sugred joys. Afterwards, how envious fortune, through this chop or that channer, turned their bless to bale, severing two such beautiful faces and dutiful hearts,” &c. We have made so

long an extract because, though much of this ridicule is equally applicable to the love tale of any age, it represents the fiction of the Elizabethan, with the precision of a general formula for practice; and will be found to have a peculiar though much refined and purified application to the *Fairy Queen*.

In a period when the scope of literature was confined and its style unfinished and unfixed; the classical writers of antiquity, then but recently revived, and having the fresh charm of novelty added to their simple unapproachable excellence, were seized upon with avidity and eager enthusiasm. They furnished a range of ideas which mingled with the Gothic associations of ancient English literature, and gave rise to those strange and monstrous mixtures of Christian and mythological personages so frequently to be met in the *Fairy Queen*, as well as other poems of the age.* An amusing example of this may be found, Book I. Cant. IV., where Pluto's daughter is described on a party of pleasure:—

“ And after all upon the wagon beam
Rode Satan with a smarting whip in hand.”

Still more deeply infused into the spirit of the age, were the superstitions of every various kind, whether from the corruptions of religion, or the popular notions of magic, witchcraft, judicial astrology, and alchemy. These absurdities were beginning to be displaced by the growing philosophy of a period of transition, and as they were less entertained as realities, they became more the elementary spirit of the poet. They had not yet evaporated into mere inanity before the full daylight of reason and religious truth, and had just enough of superstitious charm to give them form to the imagination.

The same might be repeated of the magnificent and gorgeous “pomp and circumstance” of chivalry: its feelings and aspirations yet mingled in the upper air of social life. It gave the law to pride and sentiment—it yet continued to elevate and inspire the hero's and the lover's breast; and could not fail to be vitally blended with poetry.

Not to exhaust a topic which would carry us too far for our immediate purpose, such are the characteristic elements of Spenser's great poem. For something he was indebted, (if it can be so termed,) to the poetry of his great patron Sydney, whose strange intermixture of Italian pastoral and Gothic romance, produced a powerful impression on the age. From these materials, was combined the lengthened tissue of romantic tales of adventure, in which religion and superstition—romance and pastoral—knights, witches, sorcerers, tourneys and enchantments, mingle in pretty equal proportions—all blended together into that medium of allegory which was the palpable poetry of the age. While we may look for the high and solemn strain of moral sentiment which is diffused throughout, to the character of the poet's own mind,

* It is curious to notice the misapplication of general facts, as well as rules, by those whose minds range within a narrow scope. The fault here noticed is little known to the generality of readers, because the writers who have committed them are not generally read. But the impression that some such thing has been found fault with, has given rise to a common charge against Milton, who has combined with singular effect and propriety the heathen and scriptural mythologies, by seizing on the real principle of relation between them.

and the general colouring of the descriptions to the scenery of Irish woods; the wild wood path of adventure—which leads or misleads the errant knight or the forlorn lady, till they light on the shepherd's hut, the robber's castle, or the wizard's cell—could nowhere else be found in such living representation.

We shall conclude these remarks with some description of the poem, the materials of which we have endeavoured to enumerate. This portion of our undertaking is done to our hand by the author himself, in a letter to Raleigh:—

To the right noble and valourous, Sir Walter Raleigh, knight, Lord Warden of the Stanneries, and her Majesty's lieutenant of the county of Cornwall.

“Sir,—Knowing how doubtfully all allegories may be construed, and this book of mine, which I have entitled the *Fairy Queen*, being a continued allegory, or dark conceit; I have thought good, as well for avoiding of zealous opinions and misconstructions, as also for your better light in reading thereof, (being so by you commanded,) to discover unto you the general intention and meaning, which in the whole course thereof I have fashioned, without expressing of any particular purposes or by-accidents therein occasioned. The general end therefore of all the book, is to fashion a gentleman or noble person, in vertuous and gentle discipline;—which for that I conceived should be most plausible and pleasing, being coloured with an historical fiction, the which the most part of men delight to read, rather for variety of matter, than for profit of the ensample: I chose the history of king Arthur as most fit for the excellency of his person; being made famous by many men's former works, and also furthest from the danger of envy and suspicion of present time: and in which I have followed all the antique poets historical. First, Homer, who in the persons of Agamemnon and Ulysses hath ensampled a good governor and a vertuous man—the one in his *Iliad* the other in his *Odysseis*; then Virgil, whose like intention was to do in the person of *Æneas*; after him, Ariosto comprised them both in his *Orlando*; and lately Tasso dissevered them again, and formed both parts in two persons; namely, that part which they, in philosophy call ethice, or vertues of a private man, coloured in his *Rinaldo*; the other named politice, in his *Godfredo*. By ensample of which excellent poets they labour to pourtraict in Arthur, before he was king, the image of a brave knight perfected in the twelve private moral vertues, as Aristotle hath devised; the which is the purpose of these twelve books: which if I find to be well excepted, I may be, perhaps encouraged to frame the other part of politick vertues in his person, after that he came to be king.

“To some, I know this method will seem to be displeasing; which had rather have good discipline plainly in way of precepts, or sermoned at large, as they use, than thus cloudly enwrapped in allegorical devices. But such me seem, should be satisfied with the use of these days, seeing all things accounted by their shows, and nothing esteemed of, that is not delightful and pleasing to common sense, for this cause is Xenophon preferred before Plato; for that the one, in the exquisite depth of his judgment formed a commonwealth, such as it should be;

but the other in the person of Syrus and the Persians fashioned a government, such as might best be; so have I laboured to do in the person of Arthur; whom I conceive, after his long education by Timon (to whom he was by Merlin, delivered to be brought up, so soon as he was born of the lady Igrane,) to have seen in a dream or vision, the fairy queen with whose excellent beauty ravished, he awaking, resolved to seek her out; and so being by Merlin armed, and by Timon thoroughly instructed he went to seek her forth in fairy. In that fairy queen, I mean glory in my general intention; but in my particular, I conceive, the most excellent and glorious person of our sovereign, the queen and her kingdom in fairy-land. And yet in some places else I do otherwise shadow her. For considering she beareth two persons, the one of a most royal queen or empress, the other of a most virtuous and beautiful lady; this latter part, in some places, I do express in Belphebe: fashioning her name according to your own excellent conceit of Cynthia; Phoebe and Cynthia being both names of Diana. So in the person of prince Arthur, I set forth *magnificence* in particular: which virtue, for that (according to Aristotle and the rest) it is the perfection of all the rest, and containeth in it them all; therefore in the whole course, I mention the deeds of Arthur applicable to that virtue, which I write of in that book. But of the twelve other virtues, I make twelve other knights the patrons, for the more variety of the history: of which these three books contain three. The first, of the knights of the red cross, in whom I express holiness; the second, of Sir Gagon, in whom I set forth temperance; the third of Britomantis, a lady knight, in whom I picture chastity. But because the beginning of the whole work seemeth abrupt, and as depending upon other antecedents, it needs that ye know the occasion of these three knights' several adventures. For the method of a poet historical, is not such of an historiographer; for an historiographer discourseth of affairs orderly as they are done, accounting as well the times as the actions: but a poet thrusteth into the midst, even where it most concerneth him; and there recouring to the things forepast, and devining of things to come, maketh a pleasing analysis of all. The beginning therefore of my history, if it were to be told by an historiographer, should be the twelfth book, which is the last; where I devise, that the *Fairy Queen* kept her annual feast twelve days; upon which twelve several days the occasions of the twelve several adventurers happened, which being undertaken by twelve several knights, are in these twelve books severally handled and discoursed.

"The first was this. In the beginning of the feast there presented himself a tall clownish young man; who falling before the queen of the fairies, desired a boon (as the manner then was) which during the feast, she might not refuse: which was, that he might have the achievement of any adventure which, during that feast should happen. That being granted, he rested himself on the floor, unfit, through his rusticity, for a better place. Soon after entred a fair lady in mourning weeds, riding on a white ass with a dwarf behind her leading a warlike steed, that bore the armour of a knight, and his spear in the dwarf's hand, she falling before the queen of the fairies, complained that her father and mother, an ancient king and queen, had been by

an huge dragon, many years shut up in a brazen castle; who thence suffred them not to issue; and therefore besought the fairy queen to assign her some one of her knights to take on him the exploit. Presently that clownish person upstarting, desired that adventure: whereat the queen much wondering, and the lady much gainsaying, yet he earnestly importuned his desire. In the end, the lady told him, unless that armour which she brought, would serve him, (that is the armour of a Christian man specified by St Paul, Ephes. v.) that he could not succeed in that enterprise; which being forthwith put upon him, with due furnitures thereunto, he seemed the goodliest man in all that company, and was well liked of the lady. And eftsoons taking on him knighthood, and mounting on that strange courser, he went forth with her on that adventure; where beginneth the first book, viz:—

“ A gentle knight was pricking on the plain,” &c.

“ The second day there came in a palmer, bearing an infant, with bloody hands; whose parents he complained to have been slain by an enchantress, called Acrasia; and therefore craved of the fairy queen to appoint him some knight to perform that adventure: which being assigned to Sir Guyon, he presently went forth with that same palmer, which is the beginning of the second book, and the whole subject thereof. The third day there came in a groom, who complained before the fairy queen that a vile enchanter, called Busirane, had in hand a most fair lady, called Amoretta; whom he kept in most grievous torment, because she would not yield him the pleasure of her body. Whereupon Sir Scudamour, the lover of that lady, presently took on him that adventure. But being unable to perform it by reason of the hard enchantments, after long sorrow, in the end met with Britomart, who succoured him, and rescued his love.

“ But by occasion hereof, many other adventures are intermeddled, but rather as accidents, than intendments: as the love of Britomart, the overthrow of Marinell, the misery of Florimell, the virtuousness of Belphœbe, the lasciviousness of Hellenora, and many the like.

“ This much, sir, I have briefly over-run, to direct your understanding to the well-head of the history; that from thence gathering the whole intention of the conceit, ye may as in a handful gripe all the discourse: which otherwise may haply seem tedious and confused. So humbly craving the continuance of your favour towards me, and the eternal establishment of your happiness, I humbly take leave,

“ Your most humbly affectionate,

“ EDMUND SPENSER.

“ 23d January, 1589.”

Richard Stanihurst.

DIED A. D. 1618.

THE father of Stanihurst was a lawyer, and the recorder of Dublin. He was also speaker of the Irish House of Commons, and died in 1573, aged 51.

Richard received the first rudiments of education in Dublin, from whence he was sent to Oxford, where he was admitted in 1563, in University college. Having graduated, he entered as a student, first at Furnival's Inn, and then at Lincoln's. He next appears to have returned to Ireland, where he married a daughter of Sir Charles Barnwall, knight, with whom he returned to resume his studies in London; here his wife died in childbirth, at Knightsbridge, 1579. Having changed his religion, he left England, and went to live at Leyden, where his course is not very distinctly traceable, though it is certain that he acquired great reputation among the learned, for his scholarship and his writings. He was uncle to the celebrated Primate Usher, who was the son of his sister, and took great pains to convert his nephew to his own faith. Having entered into holy orders, he became chaplain to the archduke of Austria, and died in the Netherlands in 1618. He left one son who became a Jesuit, and died 1663.

Stanihurst is now chiefly known by his "*Descriptio Hiberniæ*," a work in the hands of every student of Irish history and antiquity. It is described by Bishop Nicholson as "highly commendable," with the exception of some tedious and frivolous digressions. He translated four books of Virgil, in a style which has entitled him to be distinguished by critics and commentators, with unusual, but not undeserved severity. He seems to have been utterly devoid of all perception of the essential distinction between burlesque and serious poetry. A distinguished modern poet and critic, sums up all that can be said in these words, "As Chaucer has been called the well of English undefiled, so might Stanihurst be called the common sewer of the language. It seems impossible that a man could have written in such a style, without intending to burlesque what he was about, and yet it is certain that Stanihurst intended to write heroic poetry. His version is exceeding rare, and deserves to be reprinted for its incomparable oddity."* To our apprehension, the burlesque of Stanihurst, represents but the extreme of the defects to which there is a universal tendency among the poets of his time; the most free from burlesque, the loftiest in conception, and most harmonious in metre, seem every now and then to have a narrow escape. Stanihurst would have been burlesque at any time; he was no poet, and wrote when the distinction between different departments of literature were little understood; a person having the name of a scholar, wrote English verse for the same reasons that such persons now write Latin verse. But it must be also said, that the sense of the age was very obtuse on the subject of burlesque. More than half their representations of the solemn, terrific, or sublime, were undoubtedly burlesque. But it must be remembered, that nothing is laughable but by association. We give the following, examples from Wartop. "He calls Cherebus, one of the Trojan chiefs, a *Bedlamite*; he says that old Priam girded on his sword *Morglay*, the name of a sword in the Gothic romances; that Dido would have been glad to have been brought to bed even of a cockney, a *Dandipratt Hopthumb*; and that Jupiter, in kissing his daughter, *bussed his*

* Southey.

pretty prating parrot." Of his verse, the following specimen may suffice:—

" With tentative listening each wight was settled in hearkening,
 Their father Aeneas chronicled from loftie bed hautie;
 You bid me, O princess, to sacrifice a festered old sore,
 How that the Trojans were preest by the Grecian armie."

The reader will have noticed, that the verse is a wretched imitation of the Latin hexameter. This was the fashion of his day, it was introduced by Gabriel Harvey, and adopted by Sidney, Spenser, and all the poets of the day, but soon rejected. Harvey enumerates Stanihurst, with Spenser, Sidney, and other celebrated writers, as commendably employed, and enriching their native tongue, and sounds his own glory as the inventor of the English hexameter.

Stanihurst's works are the following:—*Harmonica, seu Catena Dialectica* in Porphyrium; *De rebus in Hibernia Gestis*; *Descriptio Hiberniæ*, inserted in *Holinshed's Chronicle*; *De Vatæ et Patricii Hiberniæ Apostoli*; *Hebdomada Mariana*; *Hebdomada Eucharistica*; *Brevis præmonitis pro futura concertatione cum Jacobo Userio*; *The principles of the Roman Catholic Religion*; *The four first books of Virgil's Æneid*, in English hexameter, published with versions of the four first Psalms in Iambic metre.

HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION

TO FOURTH PERIOD,

EXTENDING

FROM QUEEN ELIZABETH'S DEATH TO THE ACCESSION OF
GEORGE III.

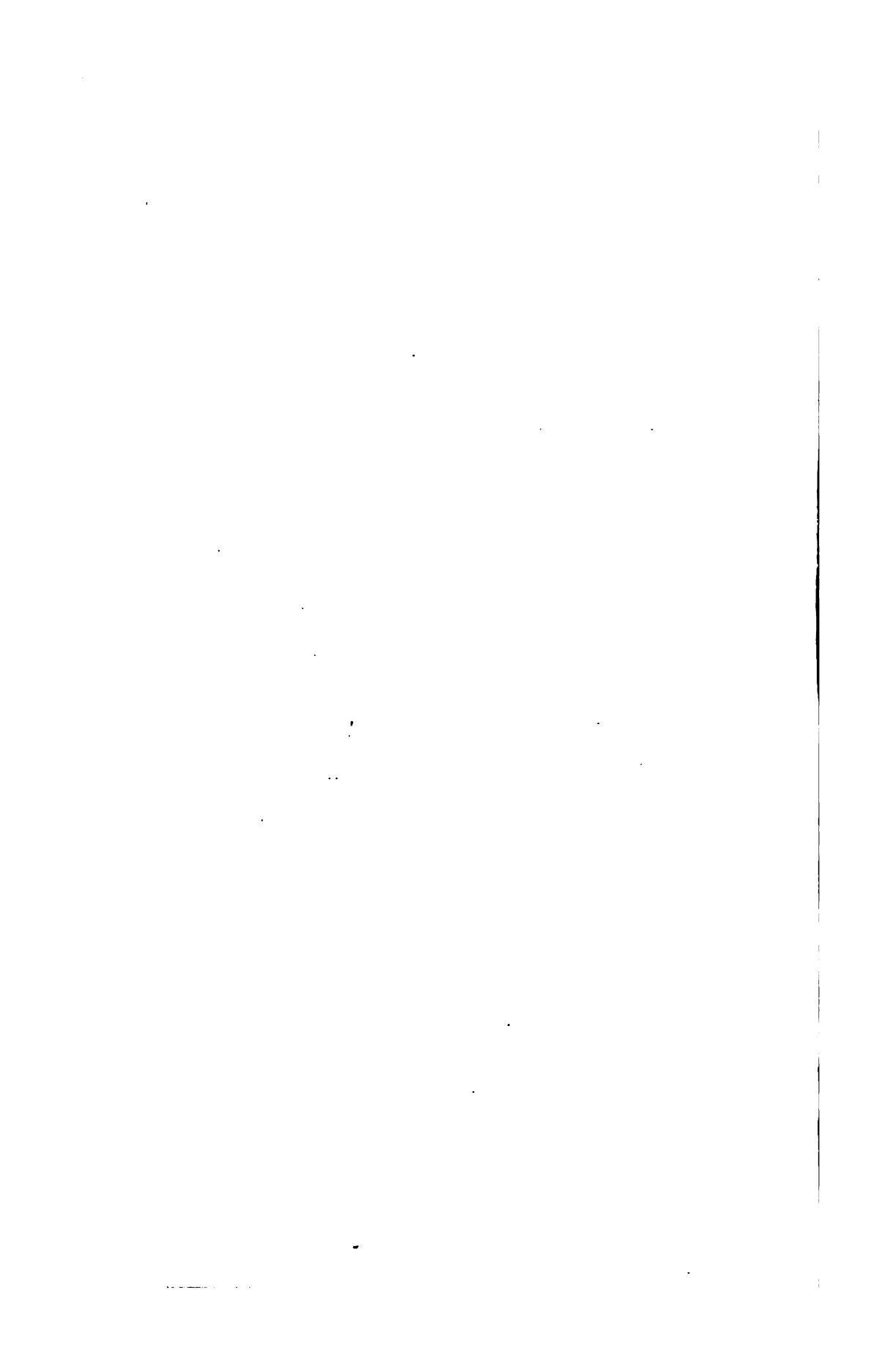
WITH

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTICES

OF

Distinguished Irishmen

WHO FLOURISHED DURING THAT PERIOD.



HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION

TO

FOURTH PERIOD.

Prefatory remarks—Retrospect—Old State of Property—Character of James I.—State of the Country on his Accession—Plantation of Ulster—Parliaments in Ireland—Causes of the Rebellion of 1641—Final Conquest in 1689—Religion—Commerce—Arts—Letters, &c.

As we advance in our task, each successive period, offers a more expanded field of character and circumstance; the events attain greater detail, and the actors become more numerous. As civil rule assumes a more distinct organization, and begins more and more to assert itself over the vast and destructive anarchy of so many centuries of continued revolution, the influence of individual character and position diminishes, and we are less necessitated to occupy our page with memoirs of persons, only distinguished by the accidents of position. We may cease to be guided by the herald's book, and to record with little variation the successions and fortunes of men, only illustrious by the privilege of descent. Yet, during the next long division of our work, we are but little released from the disadvantageous condition, of having little biographical detail: the species of literature, which collects and preserves the details of individual life, had not yet been developed; and as the times are better known, still the agents are more obscure. We must still, therefore, continue to present biography in a form little to be distinguished from history.

Such a condition, imposes the necessity of being less circumstantial, than we should otherwise think desirable in this introductory essay. We shall therefore be content, to offer a broad outline of the course of events, so as in some measure, to enable our reader to preserve a distinct conception of the order which must seem lost in the detail and divided method of our general plan. But more especially, to anticipate and guard against those popular misconceptions, which are the main impediment to an impartial history of Ireland.

Though we may observe the undoubted signs of civil progress still advancing, with occasional retardations through the whole period, yet, it must be admitted, that this progress is slow beyond all historical precedent, and that our history presents rather a fertile field, for the illustration of the causes which retard national advance, than an instance within the common analogy of social progress. Of this peculiar fact, it must be a portion of our duty to explain the causes—

a task so fraught with difficulties, that we should willingly avoid it. This difficulty does not indeed consist in the subtilty or latent nature of the causes, but in the generally questionable character of these causes. Party spirit—in other nations, operating for the most part in subservience to the ordinary action of civil and social elements, and breaking at remote intervals, into those storms that purify the air—seems to have found in Ireland, a perpetual focus for the concentration of its calamitous elements. No sanatory interval of repose from discontents, dissensions, plots, rebellions, rash aggressions, and the summary justice of arms, allowed the growth of national prosperity to spring up to maturity, and gather resisting force. No sense of prudence or duty tempered the waves, and little political virtue governed the helm; an aristocracy, whose undefined rights and privileges were incompatible with any system of order or civil polity, were alternately tyrants and victims. A populace in a state of slavery and savage ignorance, the sport of the opposite winds of arbitrary oppressions, and still more hapless resistances. And though the main policy of the English government was beneficent, it was neutralized throughout by feebleness, and by the counteraction of its own instruments and agencies—so that the greatest sum of evils was extracted from the most useful, just and necessary measures.

To prove and to describe the character and progress of such a state of things, may appear to demand no nice hand, the outline is strongly marked, and the facts too abundant and notorious. But in the course of these ensuing ages, may be traced the beginnings of those very causes, which have ever since, continued to disturb the peace of this island; and the consequence is, that it becomes more and more difficult to separate our statements from the entanglement of modern politics. We have indeed already noticed this difficulty, and forewarned the reader, that it would at this stage become necessary to enter more fully into its consideration.* We nevertheless trust, that this will not occupy much of our space; and that the few remarks we shall offer, will not be thought a digression from the direct pursuit of our historical office. Our explanation must be the establishment of an essential but partly overlooked distinction.

The events of the reigns of the Stuart family, have sufficient connexion with the political parties of the present day, to be identified with them, by the indiscriminate zeal of party. With the general consequences of this confusion, we are not here concerned; but as we must state these facts, it is evident, that we shall almost at every future step, be compelled to make statements, as well as comments, which must be contrary to the notions of all who look on the facts of history simply with relation to their own special doctrines; an error by no means confined to the ignorant or deceitful, or to the advocates of a question, or to one side. For, first, there is in the course of human affairs a general analogy, the ground of all reasoning; secondly, there is a natural and general disposition, to understand the past only through the medium of the present, and to notice resemblances in the events of which the distinctions are latent; thirdly, it is the general character

* Life of Shane O'Neill.

of party, to cause a bias of the judgment; fourthly, the party writer is additionally influenced by the eager temper of advocacy, which sees according to its purpose, and excludes all such considerations as tend to spoil a case. Thus a set of private documents will be called historical by one party, while another set, equally unauthoritative, will give equal support to the statements of another. The pamphleteer or the orator, will in all the hurry of his avocation, in which a *popular* effect is all he seeks, sit down to consult the history which he has never studied: with a prejudiced spirit, he will glance from point to point, and fact to fact, seizing with an eclectic affinity, just what according to his creed strikes him as just. His readers and hearers who take his word for the facts, and think as he prescribes, cannot conceive the remotest possibility of the manifold errors which are thus propagated.

But among the many causes which have tended to give permanency to Irish dissension, there is one, which of all others we are the most reluctant to notice, more than very generally: it is the incessant tissue of misrepresentation, consequent upon the long strife of parties in this country. This has been, indeed, an inevitable evil; the warfare of interests, passions, and prejudices, consists in misrepresentation. And once men have recourse to the missiles of faction, it is not in human nature to be thoroughly impartial in statement—nor is it to be expected, that the rank and file of the combatants will suffer defeat for want of all the varied resources by which opinion is to be swayed. If this evil were confined to public orators and journalists, it might be less permanent in its effects; their statements are made on the impulse and for the purpose of the moment, and with it pass away: no one ever thinks of attributing any authority to a rhetorician. But it is the misfortune of Ireland, that with a few bright exceptions history is expressly written to serve the prejudice of the hour. Great learning and comprehensive research have been perverted for the most useless, trifling, and mischievous ends. But we chiefly complain of those writers who undertake to write history, with the discontents of generations swelling in their breasts, and sit down to *journalize* upon the events of distant ages, to fix and render permanent the animosities which time in its healing progress bears away, and to imbitter the strife or the suffering of the present day, by the addition of those calamities which have disturbed the past. All illusions are to be deprecated: but the most pernicious are those which impose on the multitude. If such, indeed, were the realities of our history, it were better consigned to oblivion. We should here add that, generally speaking, it is not of positive falsehood we complain, but of misconstructions, and of comprehensive omissions of all that gives its entire character to a transaction. The facts are true, but yet the statement is false. The conduct of whole parties of public men is made worse than ever public men, under any circumstances were, or could have been, unless in a few extreme cases. To this strong complaint we must add, that in Ireland it is hard to avoid these errors, on account of the causes we have already stated at length. Party prejudice is exacting, and will not be content to have its grounds made questionable or explained away; it is impossible to be fair, with-

out collision with some angry prejudice. It is, nevertheless, to be desired that the already sufficiently irritating politics of the day, should be allowed to rest on their own proper basis of principle and fact. The history of Ireland may be admitted, like all history, to abound with precedent, but it is hard and unsafe ground, and full of perilous exaggerations and distortions.

Taking as we profess to do, a view of Irish history, in many respects unfavourable to every party, it is our claim to call the attention of our candid and perspicacious readers, to the important fact, that in the occurrences we are to relate, there exists no precise analogy with those which appear to represent them in the present day. The relative position of ranks, parties, and creeds, has widely shifted; new claims have arisen, and old ones become long extinct; other wants and expectations have grown up, and other classes have sprung up and advanced their banners under ancient names; justice and injustice have for the most part changed sides, and the contending parties who occupy the field, have unknowingly, adopted new and different grounds of contest, from those whom they imagine themselves to represent. It is on this general fact that we desire to take our stand, and advance it distinctly here, as the ground of our pretence to neutrality. Taking the factions of the 17th century as we find them, and delivering our impressions as they arise, whether just or erroneous, we begin by the assertion, that the parties we shall thus exhibit are not now in existence; and that any decision to which we may be led, pronounces nothing on the parties of the present time. It might be sufficient to have stated a fact, which it is the course of our regular duty to exemplify. But before we proceed, we cannot forbear from reminding our friendly reader, of the just and catholic application of that historical analogy of the abuse of which we have said enough. It is the unvarying principle by which every age and climate, the whole current of human affairs, and every direction of human conduct, however varied by circumstance, must, when rigidly analyzed, present the same motives. The objects, the relative positions, the states of opinion and knowledge, and the form and degree of civilization, may be at the remotest extremes apart, but the moving springs of human action will be still reducible within the same narrow limits. That the historian can accurately perform this solution, is another proposition, which would be empirical to assert: but the fact is a principle, and may be always assumed as a safe guide. In this view, we do not mean to exclude the existence of patriotism and public virtue, in any degree of exaltation or purity that may be insisted upon; for among our views of man, we neither exclude the nobler feelings, or the more elevated social virtues; we believe that some are endowed with noble moral virtues, in the same manner that a few are distinguished by intellect beyond the ordinary lot. But these we are disposed to regard as exceptions, and by no means admit the common pretensions which gloss the currents of life, to be the real measure of the views of parties. Our creed is governed by the tenet that there is a constant and invariable tendency to abuse in all the movements, institutions, and forces of society, however constituted. Monarchy will tend to despotism—corporated institutions to monopoly—popular privilege to social disorder. Au

aristocracy would compress and confine the forces of the empire within limits unconstitutionally narrow; the people would pull down authority and arrogate that destructive ascendancy by which the freedom of each becomes crushed under the collective tyranny of all. It is only by means of those safeguards and limitations, which separate the public duties and private interests of men, that these tendencies, all the result of a common nature, are converted by a slow social process, which is the nearly spontaneous progress of civilization, into the machinery of peace, order, and prosperity. The social polity of a civilized nation, is itself a comprehensive system of moral machinery; acting by many latent as well as perceptible provisions, for the correction of evil impulses and the development of good.

Viewing it then, as the tendency of every public body, invested with any discretionary force, to carry that force to the most extreme abuse, which opposite circumstances admit; we shall not be found to vindicate either the usurpations of the few, or the insubordinations of the many; or to labour to vindicate the integrity or fairness of any whose deeds are not such as to be their own justification. But for the same reasons we shall be moderate in our strictures upon the follies and errors of those, whose derelictions bear no mark to distinguish them from the vast community in which we are inclined to set them down.

There is indeed nothing would more tend to reduce within salutary limits, the overflowing of that insane and irrational animosity, with which the opposed in politics look on each other, as the acquisition of a just view of the origin, character, and causes of their differences; of the real influences which modify and govern them; and of the nature of the questions and facts of which the beginnings are clouded in the past, though their pressure in some form, acts in the present state of things. It would occur to Irishmen, that the wrongs and retaliations of seven hundred years, complicated beyond all unravelling, reciprocal beyond crimination, altered and annulled beyond reasonable prolongation; cannot now be entertained with any chance of adjustment on any other basis, than the perpetually shifting and oscillatory quicksand of force and fraud. The actors of the past history of Ireland, have by their human infirmities, aggravated by the incidents of position, left questions which the next thousand years will be insufficient to settle; because in point of fact, they have no foundation in real existence. Such claims and complaints, as in any way rest upon a non-existent state of things, upon the crimes and passions of former generations, or upon the shiftings and transitions caused by the common changes of national state, are only effective to exclude the peace and submission to the laws of order, which must precede the very beginnings of prosperity. Widely different are the laws of progress. The results of human crime and error pass away, and order resumes its natural power—laws begin to renew their sway, commerce restores or produces the balance of prosperity, the prostrate and the depraved rise into a new position in the altered system, and all become one; for by the natural tendency of society, the root becomes incorporated with the whole; the wrongs real or imaginary of a few pass, for in the current of human affairs individuals are soon merged with all that concerns them.

It might also mitigate the rancour of party animosity, if the fact were more generally understood, that much the greater part of those evils which are reciprocally made the topics of invective and reproach, were actually the necessary results of the chains of circumstance and position in which the several classes of agents were bound, as well as of the principles on which they could not cease to act, without the compromise of real or imagined laws of duty. To this class of agencies, we must refer much of the conduct of the two great leading parties into which all others now began to merge. The English government, and the hierarchy of the church of Rome, each of which had its principles of obligation wholly contradictory to the other. Again, in tracing the failures of English measures, and the occasional harshness of the policy of the crown, we must say, that on the strictest scrutiny, it will appear, that government could not but have taken the steps which have been so ignorantly questioned. Admitting the evil working, it will be found that it was but an escape from some worse evil; an effect inherent in a disordered constitution of things. The best course to be pursued was but a choice of evils, but the object, to give a first impulse to civilization, was effected. If in this great revolution in the condition of Ireland, mistakes were made, they should not be set down as injuries. Justice, at least, would demand a fair and thorough inquiry, to ascertain that the evils thus imputed, are not more justly attributable to other causes.

Retrospect.—For the determination of these questions, we conceive that there can be no means so good, as to endeavour to place throughout before the reader, the actual state of things under which the events of our history have taken place, and to refer the whole to its true light and line of distance in the perspective of history. To this method we must resort repeatedly as we advance: but we shall commence with a summary but faithful view of the state of the country preceding the changes we have next to relate in order. We are arrived at a great and sudden transition in the condition of the island, and a few sentences must be devoted to clearing the way: though the task would need a volume. In any attempt to estimate, statistically, the precise condition of the Irish people before the period of James, as well as long after, the difficulties are very great—the statements of the ancient authorities are conjectural, and those of the more recent, upon uncertain data. Some main facts, however, are well ascertained, and afford reasonable limits to conjecture. According to the general account of all authority, the country was entirely pastoral to the death of Elizabeth, with the exception of the English pale. It was even thus in a great measure waste, the woods and bogs occupying a great proportion of the whole. The effect was the necessary consequence of a thin population, and this in a state of primitive rudeness and poverty. Indeed, one main reason why this does not appear to the full extent, is that in the ancient accounts of this period, the mere people are not at all contemplated: the Irish, of the writers of the middle period, are the chiefs and their immediate connexions. Sir William Petty, estimates the population at three hundred thousand, in the latter end of the 12th century; Morrison makes them more than double this amount at the accession of king James. If we were to

compute from the former of these estimates, and take the Irish land at 18,700 square miles, it would give a population of 16 to the square mile, a rate which may be increased by the large allowances to be made for waste districts. According to the second, we should have $36\frac{1}{2}$ persons, nearly, for the same spaces, but from this a very large deduction should be made for the English pale, and for the much increased population of towns, so that on the whole, we should have a general mean rate of population, not much increased for the rural districts. To furnish the reader with a more distinct idea of this rate, we may take the population of the present day at eight millions, which would give 428 nearly, for the same space, being more than eleven times greater than the former. This comparatively small population, was nevertheless, dense enough for the productive state of a pastoral country. Agriculture, which alone enables the soil to maintain a dense and increasing population, was not only neglected, but proscribed by the policy of the chiefs, who were fully aware of the changes it must gradually effect in the condition of the people. They were yet more sensible to the immediate effect in increasing the value of labour, and diminishing the range of their chases and pastures. Their policy was rather near-sighted, but such is the policy of more enlightened ages: by this means the progress of civilization was stayed, the increase of wealth and strength retarded, until the possession of the lands they kept waste, and the service of the people whom they enslaved, was wrested from their hands.

State of Property.—This unhappy condition of the people, was aggravated, as well as rendered permanent, by the state of property, which had the disadvantages of the feudal state: it was not like it, a system from which the order, connexion, and strength of society was preserved, when it had in itself no other combining law: but like it, it confined wealth and authority to the possession of a few. It also provided for continual craft, intrigue, assassination, usurpation, and provincial war; the main pursuit of chiefs, and entire occupation of the people. The chief had but a life interest in his territory—his revenue was exaction—his lands were parcelled out among his kinsmen, captains, and upper servants, on the condition of service—and certain returns in such produce as the lands afforded. But the succession entirely depended on the strength to secure it, and the people can only be said not to have passed with the soil, because they had no interest in it. In each of the lesser divisions of territory, every proprietor was armed with the pretensions of a chief, and levied the same exactions on those who lived under him, and claimed the same privileges of war and peace with his neighbours. All extra expenditure of hospitality or war, was levied by an equal tax on the whole territory subject to the chiefs, whether great or small: and thus another great restraint against disorder was wanting; there was no occasion to count the cost. The main object of existence was the increase of military strength, and it is obvious, that for this end the repression of all advances of the people, was not only a consequence, but a needful and evident policy. Under these circumstances, the island was, with the exception of its towns, and of the English pale, a waste of war and contention. Its lands uncultured, and its inhabitants barbarous and

poor; and only not slaves because they were not arisen to the level of which slavery is an evil: the state in which property, arts, and fixed habitations begin. But we shall have to resume this important topic.

Of the greater chiefs, who thus enslaved and disordered the country, there were about 90, of whom 60 were Irish, and 30 of English descent. We shall here insert the enumeration of these, from a document published by the State Paper Committee.

"Who lyste make surmyse to the king for the reformation of his lande of Ireland, yt is necessary to shewe hym the state of all the noble folke of the same, as well of the kinges subjectes and Englyshe rebelles, as of Iryshe enymyes. And fyrst of all, to make His Grace understande that ther byn more then 60 countreyes, called regyons, in Ireland, inhabytyd with the kinges Irishe enymyes. Some region as bygge as a shyre, and some a lytyll lesse; where reygneith more than 60 chyeef capytaynes, whereof some callyth themselves kynges, some kynges peyres, in ther langage, some prynceis, some dukes, some arche-dukes, that lyveth onely by the swerde, and obeyeth to no other temperall person, but onely to himselfe that is stronge; and every of the said capytaynes makeyth warre and peace for hymselfe, and holdeith by swerde and hathe imperiall jurydyction within his rome, and obeyeth to noo other person, Englyshe ne Irishe, except only to suche persones, as may subdue hym by the swerde: of whiche regions, and capytaines of the same, the names folowyth immediate.

Here after insuyth the names of the chief Iryshe countreys and regions of Wolster, (Ulster) and chief capytaines of the same.

First, the great O'Neil, chief captain of the nation within the country of, and region of Tyreown. (Tyrone.)

O'Donel, chief captain of his nation within the region and country of Tyroconnell, near Donegal.

O'Neil, of Tre-ugh-O'Neill, or Claneboy, in the south-west of Antrim, and north of Down, and chief captain of the same.

O'Cahan, of Kenoght, in Derry, between Lough Foyle and the Ban, and chief captain of the same.

O'Dogherty, of Inishowen, between Loughs Swilley and Foyle, chief captain of his nation.

Maguire, of Fermanagh, chief captain of his nation.

Magennis, of Upper Iveagh, in Down, chief captain of his nation.

O'Hanlon, of Orior, in Armagh, chief captain of his nation.

M'Mahon possessed the Irish part of Uriel, now part of the county of Monaghan. Chief captain of his nation.

Here after insuyth the names of the chief Iryshe regions and countreys of Laynster, (Leinster) and the chief capytaines of the same.

M'Morough (called also Kavanagh), of Idrone, in the west part of Carlow.

O'Byrne's country was in that part of the county of Wicklow, between Wicklow-head and Arklow.

O'Morough held the east part of the county of Wexford, between Enniscorthy and the coast, formerly called the barony of Deepes.

O'Thole's country was formerly called the barony of Castle Kevan,

and comprised that part of Wicklow, which lies between Talbotstown, Newcastle, and Ballincar.

O'Nolan inhabited the south-west point of Wexford.

M'Gilpatrick, afterwards called Fitzpatrick, of Upper Ossory, in the Queen's county.

O'More of Leix, which was by the Irish statute, 3d and 4th Philip and Mary, constituted part of one of the new counties thereby erected, called Queen's county.

O'Dempsey, of Glinmalir, near Portneehinch, in the north part of the Queen's county.

O'Connor of Offaley, which was, by the above mentioned statute, converted into King's county.

O'Doyle, of Oregan, in the barony of Tinnehinch, in Queen's county.

All of these were chief captains of their nation.

Here after followeth the names of the chief Irish regions, and countries of Mownster, (Munster) and chief captains of the same.

Fyrste of the Iryshe regions, and capytaines of Desmound.

M'Carthy More, (or the great M'Carthy) of Desmond, in the county of Kerry, between Dingle Bay and Kenmare river.

Cormok M'Teague (likewise a M'Carthy,) of Muskerry, in the county of Cork.

O'Donaghue of Lough Lene, (Killarney), in the county of Kerry.

O'Sullivan of Beare, in the county of Cork, between Kenmare River and Bantry Bay.

O'Conor of Traghticonnor, the north part of Kerry.

M'Carthy Reagh, of Carbery, in the county of Cork.

O'Driscoll of Baltimore, in the south part of Cork.

There was one O'Mahon of Fonsheraghe (now roaring water,) and another of Kinalmeaky, both in Carbery.

O'Brien, of Toybrien, in the barony of Ibrikin, in the county of Clare.

O'Kennedy of Lower Ormond, west of Lough Deirgeart, in the north part of Tipperary.

O'Carroll, of Ely, now the barony of Eglishe, in the south part of King's county.

O'Meagher of Ikerin, now a barony in the north-east angle of Tipperary.

M'Mahon of Corkvaskin, the south-west extremity of Clare, now the barony of Moyferta.

O'Conor of Corcumroe, in the west part of Clare.

O'Loughlin of Burrin, in the north-west of Clare.

O'Grady, who possessed that part of Clare, now called the barony of Bunratty.

O'Brien of Arra, east of the Shannon, in the county of Tipperary.

O'Mulryan, or Ryan of Owey, south of Arra.

O'Dwyer of Kilnamanna, south of Owey.

M'Brien of Coonagh, in Limerick.

Here after insuyth the names of the chief Iryshe regions and countries of Conaght, and chief captains of the same.

O'Connor Roo, of Maghery Conough, near Lough Cane, in Roscommon.

O'Kelly, who dwelt in the barony of Kilconnell in Galway.

O'Madden, at Portumna, in the barony of Longford in Galway.

O'Ferral, of Annaly, comprising great part of the county of Longford.

O'Reilly possessed the east Brenny, extending over great part of the county of Cavan.

O'Rourke possessed the west Brenny, being the south part of Leitrim.

M'Donough of Tiraghrill, in the south-east of Sligo.

M'Dermid of Mylurge, extending from Boyle to Lough Allen in Roscommon.

O'Gara, of Coolavin, the south point of Sligo.

O'Flaherty, of Borin, in Moycullin, in the county of Galway.

O'Malley of Morisk, in the south-west of Mayo.

O'Harra of Maherlene, now Leney, in Sligo.

O'Dowdy of Tyrevagh in the county of Sligo.

O'Donaghue of Corran, in the same county.

M'Manus O'Connor (commonly called O'Connor of Sligo), of Carbery, in the north part of Sligo.

Here folowyth the names of the chief Irysh regions and countreys of the county of Meathe, and the chief captains of the same:—

O'Mulloughlin of Clonlunan, in Westmeath.

M'Geoghean, who dwelt on the west side of Lough Ennel, in the barony of Moycashel, in Weastmeath.

O'Mulmoy, or O'Mulloy of Fircal, in King's County.

Also there is more than thirty greate captaines of the Englishe noble folk, that folowyth the same Irysh ordre, and kepeith the same rule, and every of them makeith warre and pease for hymself, without any lycence of the king, or of any other temporall person, saive to hym that is strongeyst, and of suche that may subdue them by the swerde. Ther names folowyth immedyat:—

The Erle of Desmounde, lord of the county of Kerry.

Fitzgerald, called the knight of Kerry.

Fitzmaurice, whose territory was in the modern barony of Clanmaurice.

Sir Thomas Desmond, knight.

Sir John of Desmond, knight.

Sir Gerot of Desmond, knight.

The lord Barrye, of Barrymore and Buttevant, county of Cork.

The lord Roache of Fermoy, county of Cork.

The young lord Barrye, Barry Oge, of Kinnelea, county of Cork.

The lord Courcey, of the barony of Courceys, south of Barry Oge's country.

The lord Cogan, who held part of the barony of the Barretts.

The lord Barret, who held another part of the same barony.

The white knight, (Fitzgerald,) whose country lay in the baronies of Clanwilliam, Condons, and Clangibbon, in the counties of Tipperary and Cork.

The knight of the Valley or Glen, (Fitzgerald,) had a territory

on the south of the Shannon, in Limerick, from the confines of Kerry to near the River Deel.

Sir Gerald of Desmond's sons of the county of Waterford.

The powers of the county of Waterford.

Sir William Bourke, knight of the Co. of Limerick, barony of Clanwilliam.

Sir Piers Butler, knight, and all the captains of the Butlers of the county of Kilkenny, and of the county of Fyddert, Fethard, in the south-east of Tipperary.

Here folowyth the names of Englishe greate rebelles in Conaght:—

The lord Bourke, M^cWilliam Oughter, of Mayo.

The Lord Bourke, M^cWilliam Eighter, of Clanricard, which comprised the baronies of Longford, Leitrim, and Galway.

The lord Bermyngham of Athenry.

Sir Myles Stannton's sons of Clonmorris, in Mayo.

Sir Jordan Dester's sons; M^cJordan, Baron Dester, was seated in the barony of Gallen, in Mayo.

The lord Nangle, M^cCostello, Baron Nangle—eastern side of the barony of Costello, in Mayo.

Sir Walter Barrett's sons of Tyrawley, in the north-east of Mayo.

Here folowyth the names of the great Englishe rebelles of Wolster (Ulster):—

Sir Rowland Savage, knight of Lecale, in the county of Down.

Fitzhowlyn of Tuscarde, same county.

Fitz John Byssede, of the Glynnes, now the barony of Glenarm, in Antrim.

Hereafter folowyth the names of the Englyshe Capytaynes of the county of Meath, that obey not the Kinges lawe:—

The Dyllons.

The Daltonns.

The Tyrrelles

The Dedalamoris.

Out of these factions and jarring elements it is impossible, without the aid of some impracticable theory, founded on assumptions which no one has a right to take for *data*, to assign any process of things, by which order, wealth, and civil liberty could spring up. There is, in fact, no single medium of national advance that cannot be clearly and unanswerably shown to have been directly resisted by some overwhelming action of a contrary force. Internal tranquillity, industry, subjection to law, stability of property: all these are diametrically opposed to this state of divided and jarring jurisdictions—this pandemonium of little barbarian thronedoms and principalities, the prizes of craft and violence: won by armed insurrections, and maintained by despotic exactions.

But this is only the skeleton of a system of perpetual anarchy and wrong. Most of its workings were not inferior in pernicious efficacy to the main system from which they grew. These fierce and ambitious little kings, not only exerted in their diminutive jurisdictions, a tyranny benumbing to all the growing and advancing qualities of human nature; more effective to repress these energies in proportion to the narrow compass in which they were exerted: with a consistent policy,

which is curious to observe in rulers themselves so little advanced, they widely proscribed and kept away the approach of every external influence which might in any way tend to disenthral the people from their tyranny. No one will suspect the church of the middle ages, to have erred on the side of freedom; or to have been the voluntary instrument of enlightening the spirit, or raising the condition of the people. But the church was civilization itself compared with the barbarous subjugation of this ancient toparchy, under which the people were allowed a wild and pernicious license, (which now conceals the truth from loose reasoners,) a license to go every way but the road to improvement;—to rob, murder, and lead a life of uncontrolled, lawless, and debasing idleness, but not to take a single step in contravention to the policy that was to keep away civilization, the dethroner of little tyrannies. The church had in the very darkest phase of the middle ages, influences of a tendency opposed to this. Though not the advocate certainly of civil freedom, it possessed, at the worst of times, humanizing influences. It contained the seeds of knowledge, and the elements of moral growth: and the improvement of wealth and industry were its direct interests. What was nearer still to the influential, it had a strong moral power over the popular passions, and exercised an influence, in a very high degree opposed to the usurping and impoverishing sway of the chiefs. These two great powers were directly at variance. The one found its interest in the depression, the other in the elevation of the people. The nobles (if the term may be applied,) held their barbarian authority by the feebleness of law, the absence of any public sense, the ignorance, poverty, and turbulent spirit of the people. The church could only hope to rise from the condition of extreme subservience and continual humiliation in which it lay, by the strength of the people. To a certain point, (in the limitation of this assertion, we are not here concerned), their interests were identified.

Of this condition of things it was the direct consequence, that there was a fierce and implacable animosity against the church, easily traced in every part of the history of the period through which we have now passed. The chiefs were not more fierce and greedy in their schemes and violences against each other than in their sacrilegious inroads upon the rights and possessions of the church. And as it was for many dark centuries entirely within their power, so it was only by the most unbounded subserviency that it could escape sharing the fate of the people. One remarkable illustration of all this, may, indeed, be found in the curious combination of sacrilege and irreverence, with the pretence of a religious zeal, which characterizes the earl of Tyrone and his allies in the rebellions of Elizabeth's reign.

Lastly, (for we are here confining our statement to main circumstances) let us cast one glance on the entire scene of things thus constituted.

The country, circumscribed by a vast prevalence of forest and bog—thinly peopled—subject to constant wars, tumults, and insurrections—a tyrant aristocracy—a prostrate, persecuted and inefficient church—laws which were not administered against the strong, and which so far as any civil efficacy was concerned were but nominal. Such was the Irish part of Ireland; including in the term, all but the pale and

a few towns, which happily preserved the embers of civil life, in the midst of this scene of storm and disorder. During the long period of turbulence and neglect which intervened between Henry II. and Henry VII., the pale had contracted its bounds to a small circumference immediately surrounding Dublin; and maintained a difficult existence, by paying large tributes to its surrounding enemies. The amount of these is ascertained for the beginning of the sixteenth century.

A very full and authoritative report on the state of Ireland, written about 1515, rates the total sum paid in tribute by the English counties, at the period when it was written, at £720, a considerable sum if multiplied by the rate of value for that time. Perhaps it would be too little to take it twenty-fold the present value of the same sum, when all the necessary conditions of value are taken into account—the scarcity of money—the cheapness of commodities—and the comparative simplicity of human wants. To estimate the narrow compass in which the elements of a better order of things lay confined, is easier.

Though the territories in the actual possession of English settlers comprised throughout an ample proportion of the country, yet the domain of the English jurisdiction was by no means commensurate with this. We have already enumerated the powerful and wealthy chiefs of English race, who were enabled, by the position of their territories, to obtain a barbarous independence, and the power of absolute monarchs, by disclaiming the control of English law, and with their followers and families degenerating into the state of the surrounding septs. These, while by the natural law which regulates the moral influences of humanity, they must have in some small degree communicated their manners to the surrounding wilds, yet by the more traceable action of the same laws, they lost more than they imparted, and became to all purposes Irish chiefs and swelled the amount of counteractions to the advance of civilization.* But in addition to these already named, the English inhabitants of the half of the counties of the pale, were become Irish in language, dress, manners, and laws. While it is also to be observed, that in the five half counties which are enumerated as being subject to the English law in 1515, the native Irish were entirely obedient to the law, and to a great extent conformable to the customs of the pale: the great advantages of which were fully understood by those who were the main sufferers by the want of all legal protection under the native system. These districts were the half counties of Meath, Louth, Dublin, Kildare, and Wexford. We have gone back so far, not only on account of the satisfactory evidence of the document from which this last statement is derived, but because the state of things is less equivocal, while the tendencies are the same with those of a later period, when political intrigue begins to cast its mystifying lights on every statement of fact.

Through the intervening century, the towns, in every rising country the centres of every forward movement, and improving process, had

* We should apologize for our uniform use of this phrase; but the intelligent reader will observe, that it contains the principle of our entire exposition.

not advanced. Their influence, adverse to slavery, had been justly appreciated by the fears of the chiefs, through every period from the days of Sitric and Ivar, to the rebellions of Desmond and Tyrone. In those days when the operation of political causes was far more simple, the social operation of towns was more universally understood, though differently appreciated. They were in every country the direct and immediate means of raising the condition of the lower classes—of creating industry, wealth, and independence of spirit. In England they had been main instruments in the hands of the monarchs in depressing the aristocracy, and in Ireland their influence was felt: for it was plain and direct as it was necessary in its operation. The towns subsisted by order, industry, and the maintenance of civil authority, and had the production of wealth for their immediate object. They were the *foci* of intelligence as well as of every stray gleam of independent spirit. In them the rights which the aristocracy were disposed to set at nought were canvassed, and anxiously guarded; to secure property, and keep clear the communications of trade, were among their main objects: while their superior intelligence prompted a dexterous use of means to gain friends and resist enemies. Thus diffusing around them a dawn of social light, elsewhere not to be found, they were looked on with an eye of rivalry, suspicion, aristocratic contempt, and marauding cupidity. They were also the almost sure resources by which the advances gained in civil wars, or rebellions, were maintained by the regular forces of civilized warfare. First built and occupied by the Danes, they next became for a long period of seven hundred years, the repositories of whatever could subsist of English power and progress.

Of these many had been built through that long interval: but owing to the strong counteraction of the numerous causes here noticed, few had made any decided advance. Their existence was a long struggle with their surrounding enemies, whom they endeavoured to conciliate by bribery and subserviency. In the beginning of the period now to be considered, Dublin, Galway, Waterford, Limerick, with perhaps Cork, may be enumerated as the cities to which these remarks are applicable: Drogheda, Kilkenny, Carrickfergus, &c., less conveniently situated for commerce, and more subject to the action of the surrounding elements of confusion—may yet all be considered as more or less operating to diffuse the tone of civilization, and spread the knowledge and desire of those advantages, which are the end and aim of industry.

Under such circumstances, it seems evident, that the state of Ireland was not favourable to the advance of her prosperity. From many disastrous causes, in operation from the beginning of the Danish invasions, she had degenerated instead of advancing: and had she not degenerated, her political constitution was one belonging rather to an ancient and obsolete state of the world, than to the times into which she was advancing. That the English government was in duty obliged to remedy this anomalous condition needs not to be argued: that the most imperative principle of self-preservation demanded it is as plain to reason. An uncivilized country, having no place in the growing system of European powers, was, as king James significantly called it, “a backdoor” for the enemies of England. And such the king of

England was, by the strictest national equity allowed, and by the most imperative official obligation bound not to suffer to exist. We do not conceive these demonstrable first principles need expansion. Inconsistent rights have no existence. Spain or France would have occupied and regulated the country, with far less regard to justice, as having far less community of interest; but their occupation would have been mainly for the depression of England, and could only continue till the indomitable energy of that kingdom should have succeeded in ejecting her enemies, for it is only in her moments of weakness, that the enemies of England can find a safe footing in Ireland. And in this hypothetical case, what must have been the consequence? We shall venture to say it—the very eradication of every thing that bears the Irish name. With this impression we look back with feelings of complacency on this great crisis in the destinies of Ireland. We do not for a moment close our eyes to the real and inevitable disasters by which it was accompanied; nor to the crimes of some, and the errors of others, with which its record is partially tarnished. We think error inseparable from human policy, malversation inseparable from human agency, and bigotry inseparable from human zeal. But we are also bound to say, that misrepresentation has done more mischief to Ireland than all of these together.

During the long interval between the commencement of the former period and that of the present, from Henry II., to James, one change of considerable importance had slowly taken effect in the views of the three main parties, into which we may divide the nation—the prelates, the aristocracy, and the government. Of these the church had uniformly favoured, and the aristocracy (as a party) been opposed to the government. Each had their distinct reasons, arising from their several compositions: but their motive was common—the desire of ascendancy. The church, at open variance with the barons, was also divided in itself: that portion of it which was commensurate with the English pale, adhering to English authority, and to that of the pope; while on the other hand, the native portion admitted neither the one nor the other. During this state of affairs it had been the interest of the Irish prelates to support the government, on which rested the whole security and strength of their order and the stability of their possessions and privileges. Accordingly, in the rebellions which had preceded the reign of Elizabeth, the aristocracy (there was no people in the recent sense of the term) was, so far as such opposition could avail, opposed by the higher clergy; and religion was never heard of as a cause of malcontent. As the reader of this work is aware, a very remarkable change in all these respects sprung up in the reign of Elizabeth, and showed itself in the civil wars of Tyrone and Desmond. This change had been working into effect from the Reformation, but was retarded by the feebleness of the prelates of the Irish church, who, long accustomed to rely for support on the government, possessed no influence over the pale or the native septs, and little authority over the priesthood. Thus this change was gradual, from causes merely political; it was also gradual, because a long time elapsed before their position was thoroughly comprehended by the ecclesiastical party. Neither the full effects of the Reformation,

nor the permanency of the basis on which it stood, were recognised: and for a long time all seemed willing to accede to its external rituals, and unite in the adoption of its liturgy. This statement will be best illustrated by taking the latest period to which it continues to apply, a step which carries us forward into the following reign. As the necessary brevity to be observed in this retrospective portion of our statement, prevents our having much recourse to authority, we shall here offer this fact in the words of Carte. In his notice of the act of uniformity, this writer proceeds to say, "Nor was it considered as such at first: for in the beginning of queen Elizabeth's reign, the papists universally throughout England observed it, and went to their parish churches where the English liturgy was constantly used. They continued doing so for eleven years, till pope Pius V. (who had before in a letter to the queen, offered to allow this liturgy as not repugnant to truth,) issued out his famous bull, by which he excommunicated her, and absolved her subjects from their allegiance; which inciting them to rebellion, was actually attended by one in the north. Upon this extravagant act of the papal power, Cornwallis, Bedingfield, Silyard and some few others withdrew from the public churches, but still the Roman catholics, in general, continued to repair to them, till after the twentieth year of that queen, when Campian and other Jesuits being sent into England, laboured all they could to engage them not to resort thither for worship. Pope Gregory XIII. following his predecessor's steps, renewed his bull, and excommunicated the queen again; and father Parsons published a treatise entitled *De Sacris alienis non Adeundis*, endeavouring to prove it unlawful to go to a schismatical worship, and to join in the use of a lawful liturgy, with persons that were not of the papal communion. This doctrine was not immediately received, the book of that Jesuit was answered by some of the secular priests of the church of Rome; and the matter was argued in various tracts, wrote, *pro* and *con.*, on this subject till the end of Elizabeth's reign."*

The division of spirit and interest naturally attendant on a change, which like the Reformation divided and imbittered the churchmen, and the increasing exactions of government from the obedience of those who had adhered to Rome, naturally roused them into opposition; the conscience too became engaged to the fullest extent to which it can be assumed to regulate the councils of a body of men: but most of all, it became visible, that their remaining hope of existence, as a community, under the continuance of the growth of the English influence, must quickly terminate. Thus at length were the ecclesiastics of the Roman communion, fully awakened to that struggle, of which the full consequences are to appear in the reigns of the Stuarts. The first combination of these new elements of political action was imperfect, but productive of vast effect. The rebel chiefs, whether native or Anglo-Irish, reconciled by a common cause with the ecclesiastical party, at once seized on the evident advantage offered by this new union: they set up the pretence of religion as the cause of their discontents and as the password of insurrection, and thus for the first

* Carte's Life of Ormonde, p. 32.

time were enabled to give their insurrectionary movements the aspect of a national cause, and the colouring of right and justice. Hitherto their turbulence was instigated by causes merely personal; at times they were stirred by ambitious projects, at times roused by flagrant wrongs; often again by mutual resentments. Now a sanctity and a virtue lent its influence to their stormy and discontented spirits, and the deep-rooted policy arising from their clear perception of their own immediate interests, gained the unwonted and formidable power of organization. Tyrone fought to resist the influence under which his principality was fast sinking into the expansion of another frame of polity; but thousands sought his banner under the notion, that they followed the champion of their altars. To this summary of the past, one further notice remains to be added. Had the matter rested in the operation of these elements alone, we can have no hesitation in affirming that the blighting disasters of the following period must have been wholly prevented. The decisive advantages gained by the arms of Mountjoy and Carew, the rapid growth of the English interests in a period of tranquillity, and the suppression while it might be effected without violation of conscience, of party and religious difference, must have soon introduced the sanatory operation of those civil causes which belong to order, and are a portion of human nature when subjected to the process of civilization. But another element of power, more intense than the arms of parties, or the power of government, was infused into the waters of Irish bitterness. It was not to be anticipated that the see of Rome was to remain a neutral spectator of the conflict. The objects and views of Rome need no discussion here; but it belongs to our historical commentary to state that, from the moment of a combination so auspicious as that of the Irish, and the ecclesiastics of the Roman communion, the popes, were not remiss in contributing their utmost to a cause, which they regarded as the cause of the papacy. The Jesuits were at once set at work, to foment or heal divisions as need required—to give unity to opposition, to mine and countermine with their wonted zeal, assiduity and talent. Against the vast moral influence of such an instrument, there is, perhaps, in the whole compass of social elements no provision. In the organization of the Jesuits, there was obtained, a similar power to that of a system of machinery by which forces small in themselves are increased, by the concentration of their directions, to some vast product of their separate agencies. A discipline, which, severing the intellectual development from the moral, sifting the mind from its animal frailty, and condensing it into a single organ, to be moved at the will of a single mind, and carry on with untiring perseverance, vigour, and vigilance, a single, consistent and well-digested policy, in a country where there was no resisting mass of intelligence or knowledge. Such was the new deeply working-power which was thenceforward to commence its gradually accumulating control in the long revolutions of Ireland.

Character of James I.—The most decisive step in advance, which occurs in the whole course of our anomalous history, is due to the wisdom of James. A monarch not less remarkable for his high intellectual endowments than for the very prominent weakness and inca-

pacities which have obtained a more than due share of notice. We are far from denying the truth of the several strictures of those writers who have attempted the sketch of his character, but we are disposed to think that though the features generally given are not incorrectly drawn, the likeness has been but imperfectly caught. Scott, in one of those inimitable master-pieces, which have placed him and for many generations will continue to place him at the head of all who attempt moral delineation, has given the moral likeness of this monarch with his usual fidelity and force. But the understanding of James, has always been underrated, in order to bring it into keeping with the general impression which his infirmities have left behind. A prejudice sanctioned by history, and rendered specious by broad facts, is always hard to cope with, and cannot perhaps be controverted without some risk. Much of the reputation of an individual, must ever arise from the circumstances under which he appears, or by which the estimate of his mind is formed. The greatest mathematician of our own times was found to have a remarkable incapacity for business:—had circumstances placed him for life in some office of minute and numerous details, it is probable that this defect alone would have attracted the notice of men. The rare gifts of the power of generalizing and of comprehensive and subtle analysis, may by rare good fortune happen to coexist with those more common and generally available but lesser faculties which constitute prudence and common sense in the management of ordinary affairs: but the union must be rare, not only because the faculties are in some measure opposed, but because their exercise is apt to lead to different mental habits. And with this, the additional fact is to be allowed for, that the most available qualities in life are not intellectual, but moral. The man who is wise in thought, who can understand or investigate difficulties, and cast a comprehensive and accurate eye over the combination of affairs, may go out from his study and be a fool or a knave: because, though men use their reason in study, they act from impulse and habit.

King James was, with the exceptions to be made in conformity with these observations, what Sully pronounced "the wisest fool in Christendom," or what Scott has more elaborately described, "deeply learned without possessing useful knowledge; sagacious in many individual cases, without having real wisdom; fond of his power, and desirous to maintain and augment it, yet willing to resign the direction of that and of himself, to the most unworthy favourites; a big and bold assertor of his rights in words, yet one who tamely saw them trampled on in deeds; a lover of negotiations, in which he was always outwitted; and a fearer of war where conquest might have been easy. He was fond of his dignity, while he was perpetually degrading it by undue familiarity; capable of much public labour, yet often neglecting it for the meanest amusement; a wit, though a pedant; and a scholar, though fond of the conversation of the ignorant and uneducated. Even his timidity of temper was not uniform, and there were moments of his life, and those critical in which he showed the spirit of his ancestors. He was laborious in trifles, and a trifler where serious labour was required; devout in his sentiments, and yet too often profane in his language; just and beneficent by nature, he yet gave way to the ini-

quities and oppression of others. He was penurious respecting money which he had to give from his own hand, yet inconsiderately and unboundedly profuse of that which he did not see. In a word, those good qualities which displayed themselves in particular cases and occasions, were not of a nature sufficiently firm and comprehensive to regulate his general conduct."

Indolence, love of pleasure, strong physical propensities, and much timidity neutralized the very considerable sagacity, observation, and natural beneficence of James—under all those circumstances in which they could have any influence. They made him variable, irresolute, and the slave of firmer minds. His defects were not intellectual but moral. Accordingly under circumstances, abstracted from his besetting weaknesses and the influence of favouritism, it may be uniformly observed, that he has left many proofs of statesman-like wisdom. Among these, Ireland offers a very favourable illustration.

State of the country on the accession of king James.—From the brief retrospect in the preceding pages the reader will have anticipated the main circumstances, which must have regulated the policy of king James. His accession was indeed attended by some favourable circumstances, arising from both the position of affairs and the feelings of the country. The people were generally impressed with favourable expectations from a monarch in whom the ancient line of Milesius was considered to be restored.* He was the son also of a mother who was universally regarded as a martyr to the church of Rome. The rebellion of Shane O'Neill, had been the means of exciting a very strong sense of religious enthusiasm among the people, and this had been much increased by the rebellion of Hugh, earl of Tyrone. These wars had their rise in the ambition, the discontent, the real grievances, and the refractory spirit of the Irish chiefs. These workings had been additionally developed by the intrigues of official agents, and underplots of parties unconnected with government. The pretext of religious motives having been adopted, by chiefs whose conduct exposed their sacrilegious disregard of every sacred thing, was zealously and efficaciously encouraged by the church of Rome, and was the means of gradually diffusing a strong and permanent spirit among the people. The Protestantism of those, whom they had been taught for the long course of two generations, to regard as tyrants and oppressors, augmented the religious animosity thus raised; and excited a deep-seated hostility nursed by every art of their leaders, nourished too by the injustice and folly of their opponents, until it obtained a diffusive existence in the very nature of the people, and became a plant of indigenous growth. Then however this national disease slumbered for a moment: in part because the spirit of the nation had been stunned by the fierce retribution which was drawn down on all by the madness of a few; and partly from the hopeful expectations of the new reign.

On the part of James, there seems every reason to infer the wisest and soundest intentions. He had nevertheless many difficulties to

* See Vol. I. p. 41.

encounter. The very constitution (if we may apply the term) of the country abounded with irreconcilable conditions; and as it then stood, was incapable of being corrected into any regular polity capable of improvement, unless by changes too comprehensive to be effected without opposition, offence, and (considering the necessary corruption of all human agency,) much pernicious abuse. The Irish people, although among the earliest civilized of the races of Europe, had, from a variety of causes, hung back in the twilight of antiquity, till their antique institutions were become barbarism. From the first inroads of the Danes, their state had been one of mouldering dilapidation. And when it became a question how their fallen and abject condition was to be retrieved—how they could be rendered capable of forming a portion of the modern world, and released from the position, abject for themselves, perilous for England, of being a mere position of approach for foreign intrigue—when a question so vital both to England and Ireland arose, it was quite evident that there was but one course practicable. This was full of difficulties and objections: the disease was a malorganization of every one of the vital parts. The existing disposition of property, the laws of inheritance, the distribution of power and influence, the civil jurisdiction, the ecclesiastical disunion, the prejudices, ways of life, and manners of the nation, were all as unfavourable to improvement, to regular government, to trade, as they were to national tranquillity or freedom. The nation had been half conquered, and had been floundering on like a wounded bird, that can neither fly nor walk, escape or resist; and was become full of conflicting and heterogeneous elements. Two races were prejudiced against each other, two laws conflicted for predominance, two powers struggled for mastery, two religions cursed each other.

Thus the country presented one wide anomaly in the system (if we may so call it) of the civilized world. Though like other countries, it had undergone a harassing repetition of those evils which were the ancient instruments of civilization;—invasion, conquest, and colonization: in this country alone they had all been neutralized by some untoward working. The evils alone remained; the storm that elsewhere awakened new elements into action, and brought more wholesome affinities into combination, here but left a wide spread waste of desolation, and the smouldering fires of contention and hate. No common spirit existed—no sense of general interest prompted either just concession, or rightly directed resistance. The nation was divided into parties, and every party had an interest of its own irreconcilable with all the rest. The people were but the slaves of the soil—the chiefs of two races were opposed to each other, to the government, and to the church; the church was cleft into three and often into four parties, among which there was a long struggle for ascendancy. The reformed clergy; the regulars and seculars of the church of Rome, which latter were the clergy of the pale; and those of the Irish church who had been chiefly upheld by the Irish chiefs. These last-mentioned divisions had in a great measure ceased; the reformation had cemented them, and the accession of the native chiefs had placed in their hands a vast preponderance which they never afterwards lost. Still all these

parties had their several policies which they kept exclusively in view. The true interests of Ireland were only thought of, and that but loosely and generally by the English monarchs, who alone were concerned in its advance as a nation; but their good-will was long neutralized by a foul medium which lay between this island and the good intentions of England: those who looked to profit by her disorders; they were largely supported by those, (nearly all,) who desired to perpetuate the degradation in which their power subsisted.

Thus Ireland was a scene of party, faction and intrigue: only united in the opposition to all advance. There was no combined or pervading system of government, but a combination of causes, essentially incompatible with any rational form of polity. There were irregular and opposing jurisdictions, and an unconstitutional state of property.

Policy of king James.—The first act of the new reign, which demands especial notice, was an act of indemnity for all offences previous to the king's accession. This was accompanied by another just and wise measure, by which the people were declared exempt from the tyranny of their chiefs, and thenceforward placed under the protection of the king and the laws. On the following year, the government was committed to the able hands of Chichester, whose vigour, activity, and wisdom were best adapted to the state of the country and the designs of the king. Chichester pursued the policy then adopted, with ability and success. The ancient laws of property, only suited to a very primitive form of society, and in later times the main obstacle to civilization, were abolished. Tanistry and gavelkind were set aside by a judgment of the King's Bench. The administration of justice was, for the first time, rendered efficient, and extended over districts hitherto inaccessible to law. The judges went their circuits, for the first time, in Connaught and Ulster; and the Munster circuit, which, under the degenerate race of the Southern Geraldines, had been discontinued for two centuries. The effects of this vigorous and decisive beginning, though in some measure counteracted by various after-workings, were rapid and memorable. They are described by an eye-witness: "First, the common people were taught, by the justices of the assize, that they were free to the kings of England, and not slaves and vassals to their pretended lords: That the *cuttings*, *cosheries*, *sessings*, and other extortions of the lords, were unlawful, and that they should not any more submit themselves thereunto, since they were now under the protection of so just and mighty a prince, as both would and could protect them from all wrongs and oppressions. They gave a willing ear unto these lessons; and, thereupon, the greatness and power of these Irish lords over the people, suddenly fell and vanished, when their oppressions and extortions were taken away, which did maintain their greatness; insomuch, as divers of them, who formerly made themselves owners of all (by force), were now, by the law, reduced to this point: that, wanting means to defray their ordinary charges, they resorted ordinarily to the lord-deputy, and made petition that, by license and warrant of the state, they might take some aid and contribution from their people; as well to discharge their former debts, as for competent maintenance in time to come. But some of them being impatient of this diminution, fled out of the

realm to foreign countries; whereupon, we may well observe, that, *as extortion did banish the old English freeholder, who could not live but under the law; so the law did banish the Irish lord, who could not live but by extortion.*

"Again, these circuits of justice did (upon the end of the war) more terrify the loose and idle persons, than the execution of the martial law, though it were more quick and sudden; and, in a short time after, did so clear the kingdom of thieves and other capital offenders, as I dare affirm, that for the space of five years last past, there have not been found so many malefactors worthy of death, in all the six circuits of this realm, (which is now divided into thirty-two shires at large), as in one circuit of six shires; namely, the western circuit in England; for the truth is, that in time of peace, the Irish are more fearful to offend the law than the English, or any other nation whatsoever.

"Again, whereas the greatest advantage that the Irish had of us in all our rebellions, was *our ignorance of their countries, their persons, and their actions.* Since the law and her ministers have had a passage among them, all their places of fastness have been discovered and laid open; all their passes cleared; and notice taken of every person that is able to do either good or hurt. It is known, not only how they live, and what they do, but it is foreseen what they purpose or intend to do; insomuch, as Tyrone hath been heard to complain, that he had so many eyes watching over him, as he could not drink a full carouse of sack, but the state was advertised thereof, within a few hours after."* Sir John Davies, with Sir E. Pelham (chief baron), were the first judges of assize who went into Tyrone and Tyrconnel. In another passage of the same work, he also mentions the popular joy at their presence and declarations:—"The Irishry who, in former times, were left under the tyranny of their lords and chiefs, were received into his majesty's immediate protection. Our visitation of the shires, however distasteful to the Irish lords, was sweet, and most welcome to the common people; they were now taught that they were free subjects to the king, and not slaves and vassals to their pretended lords, whose extortions were unlawful, and that they should not any more submit thereunto. They gave a willing ear unto these lessons; and so the greatness and power of these Irish lords over the people suddenly fell and vanished."†

The general beneficence of such a step, is as obvious as its motive is unimpeachable. But it must, on mature inspection, be questioned whether the risks attendant on such a sudden and extreme change, were sufficiently understood. The people were not advanced to that stage of moral advance, which fitted them for freedom. It should have been seen that independence cannot, without risk, precede the elements of social order. It was not the question, whether or not the people have a claim to independence? the question should have been, can they *stand by themselves*? Are they advanced in wealth, knowledge, and a common sense of the most elementary laws of right and wrong? If not, they cannot be rendered independent.

* Davies' *Historical Relations*, p. 115.

† *Ibid.* p. 114.

It is contrary to the laws of social order, if it could be effected; but its strongest objection is, that it *cannot be effected*; for it is contrary to human nature. The question is, under any case which may arise, what subjection is the safest, and most consistent with the national prosperity and the constitution of the body politic? The Irish people wanted centuries of that moral and social growth which is the result of time and the working of institutions. Their liberation from bondage was impossible; but the domination of their landlords, however individually galling, was safe; its character was not permanent—it could never amount to a systematic working of vast and anti-constitutional influence—a vicious *imperium in imperio*—and was liable to diminish with the advance of those moral and commercial causes which have in other countries fitted the populace for the blessing of freedom, and then made them free.

The bond of ancient servitude was for ever broken; but the people were unconscious of the full advantages then placed within their reach. Fully sensible only of their exoneration from the galling and oppressive exaction of their chiefs, they yet had no idea of independence. They were slaves by the inbred instinct of ages, and they were satisfied with a change of masters. The church—the only party thoroughly awake to prospective views, and ever wise beyond the age—obtained the benefit of this deliverance. For ages, as we have already had occasion to observe, a contest for authority had been carried on between the ancient aristocracy and the church, in which the latter had ever been the weaker party, on account of the absolute power by which the people were bound to the will of their chiefs. Later events had allied the contending parties against England, in a common cause, in which each party was governed by motives of its own. The recent prostration of the chiefs had, however, opened new prospects to their politic and wary allies. A vast structure of rival power was about to be shaken to the dust, and in its fall, the foresighted and sagacious hierarchy, whose vigilance never slumbered, under any circumstances, saw and availed itself of the favourable juncture, to secure an advantage no more to be wrested from its grasp.

But the most important step of all, was one which could alone give a salutary impulse to the country. Laws are insufficient; nor can new habits be imparted by regulations, or induced by mere communication. The infusion of a healthy action, by the diffusion of example and the display of advantages, was essential, as a first effectual step. For this purpose, the sagacious understanding of James at once perceived the plain single course to be pursued: and it was adopted with the decision necessary to carry through a strong measure, against which many prejudices and interests would be likely to start up.

A circumstance, on which opposite opinions have been expressed, facilitated the most important benefit which Ireland ever received. On the 19th May, 1607, a letter was dropped in the council-room in the castle of Dublin: it was addressed to the clerk of the council, Sir William Usher, and communicated the information that a new conspiracy was about to break out; that several gentlemen had conspired to seize possession of the castle and other places of military strength, and to assassinate the lord-deputy; the chiefs through all the provinces

had entered into the plot; and that promises of support had been received from Rome and Spain. The object was represented to be, a hope of obtaining more favourable terms of government and religion. The writer promised to counteract the conspirators, but refused to betray any one. Rumour had circulated parallel reports, in which the names of several chiefs were implicated. The report circulated, and excited alarm, both among those who were liable to be the sufferers from rebellion, and those who felt themselves open to suspicion. A little previous to the occurrence here noticed, a friend or servant of Tyrone's had (as we have already stated,) taken part against him in a suit about some lands with the primate. Tyrone having discovered the conferences between the primate and O'Cahan—and at the same time hearing of the rumoured information, very probably connected both circumstances, and inferred that the conferences had reference to some disaffected proceedings of his own. O'Cahan was his confidential agent, and had himself been named, by report, as involved in the supposed conspiracy. Tyrone was summoned before the privy council to answer the primate's complaint. His fears were alarmed, and he fled the country. The alarm extended to O'Donell, and he also fled. This proceeding was confirmatory to the informations already received, and threw suspicion upon many who still remained in the country. Nor did any declaration from Tyrone or O'Donell attempt to remove the criminatory inference from themselves or their countrymen. The government was decided in its stern, but prudent and necessary course. We now dwell more explicitly on these particulars, because having, since writing the memoir of Tyrone, met with many notices on the subject, in which the prejudice of the writers has carried them too far in their judgment, we think it right to say, that there are no decisive facts to weigh against the decision of King James's government. The direct inference from all the circumstances which can afford any ground to infer from, are clearly such as to confirm the belief of the conspiracy mentioned in the letter. The character of Tyrone; the history of the late reign; the existing disposition of large classes of the people, discontented both on account of religious restraints and the vigorous measures which were altering the government of the country. Numbers were dissatisfied at the laws by which the descent of property was altered to their prejudice; and even those whose condition had been ameliorated, were not thoroughly sensible of the benefit. To induce rebellion was the ostensible hope of many; and that alone would suggest that it was not far off. The flight of Tyrone and O'Donell was a strong confirmation: they had so often been indulgently treated, that they cannot reasonably be assumed to have taken to a course so precipitate from fear alone. They were not accused by name, and had chiefly to apprehend the deprivation of a large portion of the property which they now abandoned altogether. Flight was an unprecedented step, and not likely to be taken by bold men from a mere terror of death, unless a cause was to be maintained by the security of its leaders, or the consciousness of guilt reduced their fate to a certainty in the eye of fear. Besides, when Cecil is to be traced of a most infamous artifice, we think it just to ask for proof.

We see no reason to clear Tyrone at the expense of a far more reputable character. Both were crafty and hollow; but the charges are *unequal* and *unequally* supported. *Rebellion was no crime in the eyes of Tyrone*; but the *assumed* plot against him is far below the level of court perfidy:—it involves the lowest moral depravity, and demands the highest proof when affirmed of a gentleman. On the other hand, it might be advanced with some speciousness, that the recent occurrence of the gunpowder plot must have acted, both to rouse the suspicions of the government, and to excite, on very strong ground, the fears of all who might feel themselves liable to suspicions, exasperated by such an occurrence. One consideration, however, more than others, should weigh with those who inveigh against the attainder of Tyrone and O'Donell. It is affirmed by the Roman catholic historians of that day, among others by Bishop Burke, that their attainder was chiefly effected through the efforts of the clergy who flocked to Dublin on the meeting of Parliament. Such a step on the part of the clergy must be interpreted as an admission of the guilt of the parties; though it must indeed be admitted that their attainder was of the utmost importance to the clergy, with whom their recent alliance had been no more than a truce for the furtherance of common interests. And the event which thus for ever deposed the little toparchy of Ireland from their hereditary tyranny, could not fail to leave a desirable accession of influence and authority to those who were, from that time forth, to date a new era of their condition in Ireland.

But it ill becomes the historian to endeavour, by strained and trifling perversions, to lessen the honour of a great and fortunate measure, of which the evil has passed and the good remains. The offences of remote and barbarous periods are not to be weighed by the legal and constitutional tests of these enlightened times; all the larger revolutions on which modern states are built, were founded on the plenary license of periods without law. Let us for a moment dwell on the general merits of this measure.

Of all the untoward circumstances which were opposed to an improvable settlement of the country, the most insurmountable was the state of property. The descendants of a race of kings and chiefs still continued to hold large tracks of their ancient territories, with the despotic rights which descended with them. This despotism had, instead of being diminished by subsequent revolutions, rather increased, from the deterioration of the people and the neglect of ancient restraints in the Brehon law. Their property, also, had been begun to be regarded more and more as of private right: and thus, while they had ostensibly lost the pretension to regal power, they virtually retained all the pernicious tyranny of small provincial toparchs. It was impossible that they should not be repugnant to any change, the effect of which must be to level their ancient authorities into the equality of civil order. The English barons had also long perceived and endeavoured to secure for themselves the privileges of their Irish neighbours. They eagerly adopted the character, dress and language—the laws and customs of their neighbours—because they obtained with them their licentious privileges and lawless powers. To make laws—to

establish a constitution of civil government for this insubordinate aristocracy—another disposition of power and property became essential. Such changes were fortunately favoured by the calamities of the age; but looking upon them at this remote period are liable to be misunderstood, both by reason of the numerous mis-statements of party writers, and also because property itself, and the laws by which it is affected, have undergone a change. Where there is a settled form of constitutional government, an established and matured frame of civil order, and where the rights of persons and things are secured by equal and just laws, the fundamental basis of individual rights cannot be touched without the utmost danger as well as injustice. In the present state of society, there is a general sense which guards and watches over every infringement of property, and which renders it a matter of some difficulty to weigh with fairness any seeming violation of a constitutional principle, in times and under circumstances in which this principle had truly no application. Referred to the forfeitures of the O'Neills, O'Donnells, and Desmonds, it is a prejudice founded on oversights and sophisms, which never would have occurred, had it not been for the violence and lengthened duration of faction in this unhappy land. Oft repeated and long continued rebellions had been almost uniformly met with reconciliations and restorations to favour and property, which had not the desired effect—were not due to justice—could not have been awarded under a more advanced state of civilization, and would have been virtual repeals of the fundamental laws of any settled constitution. The mercies and indulgencies of Queen Elizabeth we do not condemn, but merely observe that they were only allowable from the absence of fixed laws. The Tyrones and Desmonds were either rebels or independent toparchs: if rebels, life as well as property was due to the law by which all law exists a day; if petty toparchs, at war with the British settlements, they were, by the law of nations (as then understood,) at the mercy of the conquerors, and could not, on any principle, be allowed to continue as a permanent obstacle to civil order. In justification of these victims to the state of the age, as well as their own delusions, we have said much, and shall say more hereafter; but we can no more question the right than doubt the expediency of the only measure which was adapted to put the country (for the first time) in a state of advance. Indeed, these truths are so plain to unprejudiced common sense, that such of our readers as are not much versed in the numerous political histories of Ireland, may feel it unnecessary to have laid an undue stress on so plain a point. Yet it is on such elementary points that our history most needs to be rectified. The same events are to be traced throughout the history of nations; conquests, rebellions, revolutions—in each of which the essential results are the same, laws must be preceded by the dispositions of arbitrary power. But the time has long passed away in which these changes are held in the recollection of civilized nations, or named by educated individuals in the tone of aggrievance. Such complaints belong to persons and times which have no present existence, and can now be only classed with the aggressions of the Norman he grievance of the Saxon. Such changes were an indispensable of the great instrumentality used by Providence, by which all

change is ordered for the best, in combining and cementing into the effective and permanent masses of an enlightened and well-ordered polity, the contentious and mutually oppressing clans and provincial tyrannies, the heptarchs and the petty chieftains, by which uncivilized countries were plundered and misruled. When the descendant of Caractacus, of Egbert, or Canute, of the Briton, the Saxon or the Dane, shall lay claim to the rich and fertile districts of merry England; when the posterity of the larger part of that splendid proprietary, the feudal lords of England shall stand forth to claim dominion and authority over the cultivated lands, and the enfranchised tenantry, whom their Saxon and Norman ancestors oppressed, and seek redress for wrongs which lie buried in the dust of centuries; then may the tombs and cairns of antiquity render up these obsolete claims, which, in this hapless land, have been similarly determined by the imperative circumstances of national revolution; but posthumously kept alive among the inferior classes, by the vindictive memory of often repeated wrongs, and of sufferings which have been magnified and distorted into such. The existing rights of all classes throughout the world are founded on one common and well-understood principle, unbroken prescription, which it is the first duty of law and national polity to maintain. It is the gravitating principle of society, and only to be terminated by those changes which amount to its temporary dissolution. Such terminations, it may be added, lead to no restorations; the chancery of blood which presides over such great contests, however such a visionary equivalent might have place among its legal fictions, is sufficiently known: its judges are conquerors, its officials armed and sanguinary legions, and its awards are governed by interest, fear, ambition and cupidity—might, not right. We have been somewhat unconsciously led into those reflections, not merely by the considerations before us, but by the fact that they bear relation to the popular errors of the time. Among the respectable gentry of Ireland there happily exists no such barbaric discontents; enlightened cultivation, and a correct estimate of the foundations of right and the first principles of national polity, have set these feelings at rest among those best entitled to entertain them.

Under such imperative circumstances, the attention of the king was directed to the plantation of new settlements on the forfeited estates, and to the most expedient means by which it might be advantageously effected. Besides the obvious benefits of a civilized population, it was now beginning to be understood that the large grants to individuals, by which the Geraldines and De Burghs had been raised into oppressive, rebellious, and usurping toparchs, were quite inconsistent with civil subordination or the authority of government. Out of these views arose the policy and the main errors of the government of James, which may, notwithstanding these errors, be described as wise and beneficent so far as its design was followed up.

Plantation of Ulster.—The first fruits of this policy was the plantation of Ulster, and a comprehensive settlement of the tenures of Irish property. Several commissions were issued for the latter purpose: those who held property by the ancient Irish tenure of Tanistry, were invited to surrender their estates and receive them back by

grant from the crown. As the estate held under the law of Tanistry was the most unsatisfactory in all respects, being, in fact, a life estate, which reverted to the community of an extensive kindred, and as likely at least to go to the proprietor's enemy as to his descendant, this invitation was readily and generally acceded to. Property thus secured was placed on its true basis, by which the destructive principle of an undefined and elective right was obviated, and the individual pledged to order by the security of a permanent interest.

The late rebellion had spread itself through many parts of Ireland, and thus an ample proportion of the land was placed by forfeiture at the disposal of the crown. In the counties of Limerick, Kerry, Cork, Tipperary, and Waterford, upwards of 574,000 acres had already been disposed of by Queen Elizabeth. In the county of Cork, the successful prudence of the Earl of Cork had already proved the beneficial effects which were to be expected from well settled plantation. In Ulster, above 500,000 acres were forfeited in the counties of Derry, Donegal, Tyrone, Fermanagh, Cavan, and Armagh. The war, as it had here been most strenuously, equally, and perseveringly maintained, had inflicted the widest and most complete destruction. In every quarter, rapine and wanton violence had spread depopulation. The peaceful inhabitants had been swept away by the extortions of the soldier and the plunder of the Bonaght; the miscreants of every party which seize the occasion of civil war to fling aside restraint, infested the woods and mountain passes, and followed on the track of war, to glean its relics and complete its mischiefs. The means of cultivation had been destroyed, and the hands to cultivate were few. Under such circumstances, every consideration favoured the royal project, and none in any way opposed it: it was both just and expedient. The king commenced by inviting general attention to the subject, and received many projects for the effectuation of the settlement. Among others, one from Bacon, which is included in his writings, but was necessarily deficient in the result of experience and local knowledge. After a full deliberation, the outline of a plantation was adopted, and committed to Sir Arthur Chichester, whose thorough knowledge of the country to be planted was rendered available by the moral and intellectual qualifications of a statesman. "He was," writes Carte, "a man of great capacity, judgment, firmness, experience, and prudence; he had served several years under Henry IV. of France, and had distinguished himself in the wars of Ireland by his fortitude and military skill, and had done eminent service in the reduction of the rebels: he had distinguished himself as much in the arts of peace; wise in taking his party, resolute in executing it, master of his own temper, dexterous and able to manage all the variety of humours that he had to deal with." This able statesman caused surveys to be made, and drew up a full and particular representation of the whole, and of each district of the country to be settled; he described in detail the military, commercial, or rural advantages of each district or remarkable position. He examined strictly into the rights of existing claimants, and even estimated the general expectations, characters, and tempers of the ancient chiefs and inhabitants, so that all provision might be secured for a satisfactory and just disposition of these lands. Three

classes of planters were by his recommendation to be provided for—the old Irish chiefs, servitors of the crown, and English and Scotch undertakers. Avoiding the errors of former settlements, it was, according to this provident and comprehensive plan, determined to distribute to these several classes in small allotments, on such conditions as to guard against the old abuses. The highest was to be 2000 acres, the second 1500, and the third 1000. The first were to be obliged to build a castle and a strong court-yard enclosing it, within four years; they were to keep 600 acres in demense; to settle upon the remaining portion four fee-farmers, having each 120 acres; six leaseholders on 100 acres, with eight families more on the remainder. Within three years from the possession of this portion, it was also prescribed that they should have 48 able men of English or Scotch descent on the estate. The second class was to build a house and enclose a bawn on each estate; and the third to enclose a bawn. Of these, the first class were to hold of the king, in capite; the second, by knight's service; and the third, in common soccage. They were all to be bound to five years' residence, or the appointment of such agents as might be approved by the government. It was also enacted, that no one of the granters under this settlement should alienate their lands without a royal license, or set them at uncertain rents, or for any time less than three lives, or twenty-one years. The tenants were to build houses and live together in villages, an arrangement favourable to mutual defence, but productive, perhaps, of many evils at a later period of Irish history. The new grantees had also several nominal privileges, then of importance, though now either obsolete or pernicious, conferred upon them; they were allowed to erect manors, and to hold courts-baron—rights of which now only a few instances remain to disgrace the national jurisdiction, and exhibit (in common with the courts of conscience) the foulest and most anomalous departure from the principles of the administrative department of justice that is known in English law.*

The native Irish who received lands under this settlement, were exempted from most of the conditions imposed on the English; while these were compelled to people their lands with a British tenantry, the Irish grantee was allowed to let to natives; an arrangement in some measure detrimental, but not in fairness to be avoided. The Irish were also exempted from the obligation of building castles and fortified places, or from arming their tenantry—an exemption of which the policy is obvious. They were, however restrained from the barbarous customs till then incidental to Irish proprietors and their tenants. They were obliged to set their lands for certain rents and for certain terms of years; all denominations of Irish dependency and exaction were prohibited; English methods of cultivation were imposed, and the custom of wandering with their cattle from place to place for

* A seneschal's court is composed of a seneschal, who is compensated by a fee from the plaintiff in the suit, and of a jury of small tradesmen, who adjudicate for each other in the species of petty and vexatious cases almost always brought by themselves. It is thus not uncommon to hear one of the jurors called up to state his own complaint.

pasture, forbidden. They were also enjoined to dwell together in villages like the English tenantry. Under these conditions, the lands disposable in Ulster were distributed among one hundred and four English and Scotch, and two hundred and eighty-six native undertakers, who all covenanted and agreed, by their bonds, to perform all these conditions. It had been experienced in the former plantation under Queen Elizabeth, that great evils, amounting, in fact, to the failure of all the objects of the measure, had resulted from the intermixture of the English and natives. The Irish, who were naturally reluctant to give up their own ways of cultivation and management of property, did not thrive in the same rapid course as their British neighbours, and became discontented, disorderly, and insubordinate to the settled jurisdiction. The British, on their part, rather looking on their immediate personal advantage and disadvantage, than upon the ultimate policy of the settlement, soon found attractions as well as irregular advantages in falling into the less constrained and orderly habits of their neighbours. *If honest industry becomes insecure, and is defrauded of its direct and immediate objects, the commencement of demoralization is not long retarded in any stage of social advance. It was at this time determined to prevent the recurrence of such disadvantages, by separating the two races. We are far from approving of the abstract policy of such an expedient; but considering all circumstances, it was necessary to success, though perhaps not reconcilable to longer views; but all measures of governments must needs be adapted to the time *that is present*; the attempt to legislate for the future is the most dangerous of all kinds of quackery, and far beyond the bounded range of human intellect.* The soundest measure is only beneficial according to the steadiness and honesty with which its operation is conducted. It was the defect of the policy of the Irish government of that period, that it was never thoroughly to be carried out in its details.

The Irish undertakers were, much to their own advantage, located on the plains and situations of easy access; their allotment was thus the most fertile for agriculture. The British, on the contrary, were disposed of rather with regard to their safety, and for the preservation of their manners, customs, and language: their lands were therefore in the more boggy and mountainous tracts, and far less profitable.

* We think it necessary to guard our meaning. There is a wide difference between speculative provisions for states of the social system, which may never arise; and law-making for the moment with an ignorant or rash disregard to probability. One of the main obstacles to all speculative policy, arises from the shortness of the wisest human views; the operation of any law is to be decided by a multitude of small contingencies, of which the sum will amount to a change of the state of things. Every social incident of any appreciable magnitude, impresses various latent but sure-working influences through the whole system. There is no calculus of variations for human courses and the laws which govern progress. And it is for this reason that legislation must be content to *follow*, not precede the growth of society. The wisdom of the statesman consists in a just and prudent estimate of the numerous and conflicting claims of *his own time*, with a sober preservation of the sound induction, derived from a comprehensive study of those natural laws to be seen in the common course of things. But state craft has its millenarians too, and it is therefore that we wish to be correctly understood.

They were at the same time restrained from intermarriage with the Irish, and a regulation more inconsistent with the further objects of the settlement, is not easily conceived. Providentially indeed, among the many pernicious abuses which defeated the beneficence of the English government, these feeble restraints could never be maintained.

Such was the settlement of Ulster, which, whatever exceptions may be made, was the wisest and most fortunate measure of British policy in Ireland. A measure from which, by a connexion of circumstances, too simple to be otherwise explained, may be traced the superior civilization and prosperity of that country.

The improvement of the new plantation under the able superintendence of Chichester, was rapid and decisive. Notwithstanding the numerous defalcations and abuses inseparable from all great and thorough-working measures, the whole results confirmed the wisdom of what had been effectively, though not with unexceptionable precision, carried into operation. Numerous undertakers observed their stipulated engagements, and thriving farms soon covered the face of the country, castles with their villages and respectable yeomanly tenants gave it an orderly and civilized appearance: several towns were built, and obtained the privilege of fairs and markets. Thus commenced on the most secure basis, the structure of a civilized, industrious, and commercial country. To complete this fair beginning, the king erected some of these towns into corporations, with the right of sending members to parliament.

Plowden, a historian of considerable learning and research, but of views singularly confined, and writing manifestly under the strong influence of national feeling, quotes from Cox, the apportionment of the forfeited lands, for the express purpose of giving some idea of the small share of the lands secured or regranted to the former possessors or even occupiers. But the quotation does not support his proposition; the distribution is as follows:—

| | |
|----------------------------------------------|----------------|
| " To the Londoners and other undertakers, | 209,800 acres. |
| The Bishops' Mensal Lands, | 3,413 " |
| The Bishops' Termon and Eirenachs, | 72,780 " |
| College, | 5,600 " |
| Free Schools, | 2,700 " |
| Incumbents for Glebe, | 18,000 " |
| Old Glebes, | 1,208 " |
| Deans and Prebends, | 1,473 " |
| Servitors and Natives, | 116,330 " |
| Restored to Maguire, | 5,980 " |
| Restored to several Irish, | 1,548 " |
| Impropriations and Abbey Lands, | 21,552 " |
| Old Patentees and Forts, | 38,214 " |

Now, on reading this document, two considerations arise; first, as to the proportion of the whole sum of acres, out of which any grant could be reasonably or equitably expected in favour of individuals. Secondly, that arising from a just recognition of the very first principle of the entire measure. On the principle enough has been said, all

the beneficial results of such a measure must have mainly depended on the essential condition, by which a comparatively advanced population should be interfused throughout the kingdom, and by which some application of capital should be secured. Such were the means adopted for the civilization of the country: they were indispensably necessary, and their success is traceable on the map of Ireland. But it is, we trust, needless to insist further upon this. To look to the fact. If the reader will take the trouble to examine the items of the above statement of Sir Richard Cox, it will appear, that first 137,167 acres must be deducted as anciently appurtenant to the institutions to which they are allotted in the distribution—leaving a gross sum of 374,289 for distribution. Now, of this it will be observed, that 123,768, being very nearly one-third, is allotted or restored to the natives; while of the remaining 250,521, there is an allotment of 27,773 for public institutions of the more necessary or useful kind, and 209,800 to the city of London. The remainder is 12,948 acres for distribution to English grantees from the crown. Thus, omitting the odd hundreds, the grants to the English compared with those to the Irish, are only as 12 to 123, a proportion less than one-tenth.

Among these allotments, there was none which at the moment appeared to offer such decided promise of future advantages, as to the city of London. The king in one of his letters expressed his satisfaction in an arrangement which appeared to secure the co-operation of that wealthy and even then influential corporation; he rejoiced in the supposition, that when "his enemies should hear, that the famous city of London had a footing therein, they would be terrified from looking into Ireland, the backdoor to England and Scotland."* The London grants were in the county of Londonderry: they engaged to build the cities of Derry and Coleraine, and to lay out L.20,000 on the plantation. In consideration of these terms, engagements were entered into in 1609; they were incorporated by a charter bearing date 29th January, 1613, by the title of governors and assistants of the new plantation of Ulster. We should here, however, do the justice to state, that this step had been efficiently prepared by the valour and wisdom of Sir Henry Dockwra, who first selected the site, and began the fortification of Derry. Of this, the following notice is selected from the full statements of the memoir of Londonderry, in the Ordnance survey of the parish of Templemore: "September 12, a grant was made to Sir Henry Dockwra, knt., governor of Lough Foyle, and privy councillor, to hold two markets, on Wednesday and Saturday, and a fair for six days (*viz.*, on the vigil day and morrow of St Lawrence, 9th, 10th, and 11th of August), and for three days following, at Derrie, every year, with horse races, there to be held during the same markets and fairs, together with the issues, profits, and emoluments, belonging and appertaining to the said markets and fairs," (1 Jac. I. 2 pars fol. 33.)† We shall have to return to this topic in the following memoirs.

* Letter to Sir T. Philips, quoted by Leland.

† Ordnance Survey. The above extract is taken from a first impression (of we believe 100 copies only) which was printed for the inspection of the statistical sec-

In this arrangement, provision was carefully made for the church, and all lands to which they could prefer a claim, were given up and appropriated to their original design. During the late rebellion, the churches had been destroyed or plundered, and religious service had fallen into neglect. To remedy this evil, the most effective arrangements were made. The churches were repaired, clergymen were appointed with a due provision for their maintenance. "To provide for the inferior clergy, the bishops were obliged to resign all their impropriations, and to relinquish the tithes paid to them out of parishes, to the respective incumbents, for which ample recompense was made out of the king's lands—every proportion allotted to undertakers was made a parish, with a parochial church to each. The incumbents, besides their tithes and duties, had glebe lands assigned to them, of sixty, ninety, or one hundred and twenty acres, according to the extent of their parishes. To provide for a succession of worthy pastors, free schools were endowed in the principal towns, and considerable grants of lands conferred on the university of Dublin, together with the advowson of six parochial churches, three of the largest, and three of the smallest in each county."* By this well arranged and comprehensive provision, both the moral and spiritual welfare of the whole country was provided for, to the full extent, which circumstances admitted.

The working of this great measure was unquestionably productive, and this in a very high degree, of the benefits it was designed to produce, and effected a gradual, and slow, but sure progress, from a state of barbarism incompatible with progress, towards the civilized condition of other surrounding countries. Still it must be admitted, that this very process, like all others which are introduced under similar conditions, was accompanied by workings of an opposite character, and which appear to warrant inferences different from those which we have here indicated. It is the misfortune of all civil changes, however salutary, and of all measures, however wisely or beneficially designed, that they cannot be carried into effect without a multitude of under agencies, and without thus calling into operation all the baser passions of the human heart. Such is, indeed, the fertile scope for the partial representations of faction. The advocate of laws, institutions, and authorities, may point out the delusion, folly, or fanaticism of the popular movements of all times; the popular historian, or orator, will find a theme as fertile in the venality,

tion of the Scientific Association in 1831, when this body held its meeting in Dublin. A full and enlarged edition of this inestimable work has since been published by Messrs Hodges and Smith. It falls especially within our province to observe, that such a publication, if continued, with the same exemplary caution, intelligence, and industry, with which it has been thus commenced, must be regarded as among the most important incidents for the advantage of Ireland, that have yet occurred. It is equally to be commended for the fulness, accurate and accessible arrangement of its copious and momentous details, and for the unquestionable character of its authorities. We have indeed much lamented that, from the necessarily slow advance of that great work, we have not been able to derive from it those inestimable advantages which it may at some future time present to the historian of this country.

* Leland.

jobbing, and intrigue of public servants, however, or by whatever authority they chance to be organized. The only invariable exception must be looked for in those situations, of which the organization excludes self-interest: as for instance, in the judicial character. Such is the principle which must confirm and soften our view of the subsequent consequences of the policy of king James's government. Of its general beneficence, and sound wisdom, we cannot admit a doubt. Of those decisive advantages, of which it was the origin, we can be still more confident; but it is painful to the historian to witness the small intrigues which made it the means of much injustice—and the mixture of fanaticism, cunning, and ignorance, which partly retarded, and partly destroyed its better workings: and produced in months a greater sum of wickedness and mischief, than the venality and oppression of centuries, have ever or could have ever caused. We cannot, indeed, quit the parallel into which we have been accidentally led, without observing this farther lesson, which has forced itself upon us in the contemplation of the same facts, in this and other countries, and in different ages of time. The crimes of individual malversation and corruption are not permanent, while the outbreaks of popular faction have that unhappy characteristic of reaction, arising from extreme, which gives to revolution its periodical property. So long as the progress of civilization continues (and its permanence is demonstrable), the tendency to equalization goes on by a spontaneous operation of the social elements. The crimes of individuals, by which individuals are afflicted, pass away with the time, and leave no real effect on the system. But the people are moved by prejudices, and act by passions—their objects are unattainable, and their course neither rightly directed nor amenable to right direction: should they fail in trampling down civil order, they are necessarily trampled down themselves; should they succeed, the ignorance and infatuation, the collapse of their passions, and their total want of any permanent principle of concentration, except under the aggregating influences of some fanaticism, almost at once subject them to some aggravated imposition of tyrannical rule. The only reply to this inference, which could affect its reason, must be the assertion, that the intrigues which work with the weapons of popular folly, are more honest than those which abuse the powers of civil authority. This may be asserted on the hustings, or in party debate, but will not be dreamed of in the closet.

The free circulation of justice; the establishment of fairs, markets, and corporate institutions; the liberation of the people from the oppressive rights of the chiefs; the constitutional distribution of territory; the fixing individual possessions on a secure principle of tenure; and the communication of a national unity to the country, by which for the first time it became a nation—all these were vast changes for the better. But we have to notice the crimes, corruptions, and disorderly movements which neutralized these blessings to a great extent.

In the execution of the plan of government two principal abuses prevailed. The grantees did not carry into effect the conditions of their grants; and the most iniquitous wrongs were perpetrated under the pretext of authority. The commissioners perverted their office to their private emolument, or in subservience to their personal friend-

ships and animosities. False, unfair allocations, and unauthorized usurpations of property were practised without constraint. The frauds of office were maintained by those misrepresentations which always impose on cabinets compelled to rely on their ministerial agents. Of this latter grievance, a very aggravated example will appear among the following notices: here we must limit ourselves to an extract from *Carte's Ormond*—"Hence several persons were turned out of large estates of profitable land, and had only a small pittance, less than a fourth part, assigned them for it in barren ground. Twenty-five O'Ferrals were dispossessed of their all, and nothing allotted them for compensation; and in certain places the resentment of the old possessors was raised the higher, because the lands taken from them were given to others who had none before, and even to some that had been rebels and traitors. Neither the actors nor sufferers in these grievances were confined to one religion. Selfishness and corruption are vices founded in human nature, and often too strong for any religion to correct; and hard as was the case of Owney MacTortly O'Ferral of Caermagh in the barony of Moudoe, (whose fidelity to the crown and good services in war against the rebels were certified in vain by Sir Lawrence Esmond, a privy counsellor) yet he had not greater reason for his complaints against Sir William Parsons, who was master surveyor and one of the commissioners for this plantation, than he had for the like against Sir Christopher Nugent, a lawyer and an obstinate recusant, who possessed himself of a great part of the lands that were taken from him. Avarice and lust of rapine make no distinctions of persons on whom they are to prey; so that we may the less wonder at the treatment of Tirlogh O'Ferral, who, though his lands, after all deductions were made, did, according to the king's directions, entitle him to a freehold, yet was stripped of all, without one acre being assigned him in lieu thereof, notwithstanding that he was the only Protestant of his name."*

Such wrongs were the more grievous, as it was unquestionably the intent of government to act in a spirit both of clemency and justice—and every provision for both was made in the instructions of those employed in these arrangements. But a more serious because more general evil was the imperfect execution of their covenants by the planters, which had more than any other cause the effect of retarding and diminishing the advantages of the plantation.

Of the grantees, many altogether neglected the fulfilment of their engagement, and few observed them, to the extent which was essential to the full success of the measure. It was soon found more advantageous to set the lands to Irish than to English tenants: they required fewer advantages, and could therefore be content with a lower share of the return, or in other words, they could afford to pay a higher rent, and to give their labour for lower wages. They were less independent in their habits, and accustomed to submit without a murmur to their burdens and exactions: they had been slaves, and when set free, they were long unconscious of the freedom of which they had no apprehension. Many were glad to sell their allotments, which were

* *Carte's Ormond.*

readily bought up by those who knew how to convert them to profit. The estates of many were farmed by inferior agents and undertakers, who dropped out of consideration every engagement, and wrung the tenants for an exorbitant profit. Many too, had through favouritism, obtained grants beyond their means,—and many found other investments more certain and profitable. It must also be admitted that in a country, which had never yet been reduced within the ordinary limits of social security, it demanded much of the adventurous spirit of that age, to risk capital to any amount. There were too many dangerous spirits in the atmosphere—and rumours, apprehensions, and dangerous possibilities, on which the historian may ill calculate with a mind at ease, floated from tongue to tongue in the common gossip, and ruffled the security of life. It is not where an ancient order, deposed from its privileges, stood round in formal acquiescence but real dissatisfaction; and though they found it safest to give way, still far from silent on their present wrongs and future redress,—it is not where, the hereditary spirit of turbulence was yet asserting its existence and menacing outbreak from its embers, that the spirit of security and quiet commercial pursuits could be hoped to live. The foresight of commercial enterprise must have hesitated to build its costly structures of investment and labour, for the tempest and the whirlwind which could still be seen remotely gathering in the cloudy terror of the old sanguinary mountain recess—to scatter and overwhelm in its fury. Indeed of all the ills to which this wretched island has been the subject—the insecurity arising from the same unsettled temper, has ever been by far the worst; while the miserable populace are hurried from illusion to illusion, suffering and discontented, but ignorant of the causes of their miseries; looking for objects which can bring no relief, and remembering injuries which they never suffered; spurning at law, and submitting to various tyrannies of an undefined but unresisted force. But we must resist the temptation of generalization unhappily so apparent. With all its disadvantages, the plantation of Ulster was productive of a larger sum of good than has resulted from any subsequent measure for the advantage of Ireland. Much as it was impeded by the workings of perverted self-interest, and interrupted by the neutralizing forces, which have still defeated the operation of all good to Ireland—it gave an impulse to the social progress of the north, which never wholly ceased to operate, and which now may be estimated by its integral result. In an incredibly short space of time the face of the country was changed. Castles, villages, and cultivated fields occupied the site of savage fastnesses and tracts of desolate forest, the haunts of misery and lurking-places of murder and robbery. Cities arose and became the centres of new wealth and of growing civilization.

Whatever cases of partial wrong may be detected in all this great and salutary operation, a general view exhibits the full measure of just consideration for the natives. In three several facts, may this assertion be verified: among the grantees, they formed the most numerous proportion; they received their allocations of the better lands; and they were preferred to an extent rather excessive, as tenants.

The king was pleased with the rapid and striking success of his

plantation, and was desirous to extend his success over the whole island. Commissions of inquiry ascertained the extent of the lands claimed by the crown in other parts of the country. Sixty-six thousand acres between the river of Arklow and the Slane, were found to belong to the crown. Of these a judicious distribution was planned, sixteen thousand five hundred acres of sea-coast, were laid out for an English colony—the remaining forty-nine thousand five hundred were to be granted to the Irish holders of the land, under regulations similar to those already described. Similarly large tracts of land anciently wrested by force from English settlers, during the ascendancy of the septa between the reigns of Edward II. and Henry VIII., or forfeited by rebellion, were declared to be vested in the crown. These reclaimed districts, to the amount of three hundred and eighty thousand acres were in the same manner granted to a few English and numerous Irish settlers. There was a general acquiescence in these arrangements—as on the whole justice was felt to be preserved. But the abuses from official and administrative derelictions and malversations, increased with the extent of their operations—and not only unfair and illegal allotments were made and large appropriations to their dividers and their creatures, but an abuse of a more lingering and injurious influence grew up. A base crew of crown agents and discoverers of defective titles began to advance their suborned informations, and diffuse terror and suspense among the old possessors of estates. They were put to the proof of titles which could have no proof, but the immemorial possession which cannot be assailed without shaking all title: the pipe rolls were searched to discover the original rents, and the tower ransacked for ancient grants: some were dispossessed, and some compelled to accept of new titles under advanced rents to the crown. This untoward industry was too amply compensated not to become formidable and dangerous. The grounds of resumption were numerous: in many cases no grant could be proved—and numerous grants had been annulled by a resumption too large and unjust to be carried through. From these and such oppressive expedients a spirit of general discontent was raised, which many circumstances afterwards contributed to increase and keep alive. The forfeitures had not excited a murmur, for they were not of a nature to create general alarm—their principle was definite, and their justice recognised. But a scrutiny into ancient titles was calculated to unsettle the foundations of property, even if it had been carried on with regard to any definite principle, and with the strictest abstinence from private malversation; as it was, it went far to counterbalance the present advantages to be looked for from the recent measures. These impediments were increased by numerous other grounds of discontent and political oversights of government, as well as by other causes which existed in the constitution of society itself. The connexion of many of these with the party conflicts and prejudices which still continue to produce the same effects, must prevent our dwelling upon them strongly or fully in these pages. The recent measures had all contributed to increase the real power of the hierarchy of the Roman church in Ireland; and it did not diminish the growth of their authority that those of that persuasion were insulted by oppressive laws, which were not so

far enforced as to operate as a real constraint. As Leland tells us, "an ecclesiastical hierarchy, with a regular subordination of orders, officers, and persons, was established through the kingdom by the Papal power; their jurisdiction exercised with as much regularity, and their decrees executed with as full authority, as if the Pope were actually in possession of the realm."* The measures of James had been effected without the intervention of military force, and the varied irritations which menaced the public peace, the foreign influences which kept up a continual excitement, the factions which harassed each other, and retarded the measures of the government, were the more formidable from the want of any control that could awe the disorderly or resist invasions which were continually apprehended. The illusory promises of Spain still continued to encourage the disaffected; and the emissaries and suborned retainers of that court were scattered in every quarter of the land. These evils were aggravated by the remedy attempted by the king: alarmed by the numerous class of persons who had no visible means of support, and were likely to be engaged in the first outbreak which might happen, he gave a license for their enlistment into the Spanish service. Numbers were thus combined and trained to arms who only wanted this organization to render them formidable. The Irish refugees, whom the result of Tyrone's rebellion had exiled, came back commissioned to raise their levies: and the country was soon filled with an army which diffused fear into every quarter, and which, at a less fortunate moment, might have led to a fresh outbreak of rebellion. But the people were, in the main, favourably disposed to a government from which they had obtained large benefits, and to laws from which they hoped still further advantages: the experience of civil conflict was also too recent: rebellion, for the most part, recurs but once in the same generation, and only when a fresh race becomes ready to rush into horrors and suffering, of which it has no experience. It was, nevertheless, with much difficulty, that this dangerous army was sent off to its destination, and the present danger averted.

If we take a general view of the constitutional arrangements which were commenced, and chiefly carried into law, in the reign of James, their wisdom and their beneficial tendency will be obvious enough. Their salutary influences, were, however, to no small extent defeated by the two causes which long continued to be fatal to Ireland—the selfishness and injustice of those who pursued their own interests at the sacrifice of the country; and by the factions which were the result of inevitable causes. Both the justice and the necessity of laws which were designed to control and counteract the interference of a foreign power in the concerns of the kingdom, are too plain to be made the subject of disquisition. We cannot condemn the struggles of the Roman clergy, whose church is their country, for the preference of its aggrandizement to all other concerns: we cannot condemn the government for the most strenuous and direct resistance. But it must be allowed, on a full and impartial consideration, that the strife between these two great antagonist powers, was unequal in conduct as well as strength. The English government appear to have committed the

* Leland, Vol. II. p. 475.

grievous error of vastly underrating the resources of their formidable adversary; and adopted measures which were neither rightly directed nor efficiently carried into operation. Severe restrictions, which were not demanded by policy, were not enforced further than was sufficient to irritate and to create alarm. A harsh, peremptory, and uniform enforcement of the penalties against recusants might have effected their purpose: their general relaxation and disuse, gave the appearance of oppression and injustice to their application in special cases. The means designed to suppress anti-constitutional opinions, had thus the direct effect to foment, increase, and organise a party: for opposition is the breath of party, and it is a general truth, that penal enactments must either wholly crush, or give new strength to such workings. Yet nothing that had ever previously occurred could have apprized the English cabinet of the certain workings of such an attempt; yet they who could call to mind the early ill effects of the dissensions caused by the attempts to create political disabilities in the "*Irish by birth*," of the former period of our history, might have anticipated more permanent and fiercer exacerbations of popular feeling, now that the English pale had been extended over the island, and that the party to be exasperated constituted the main portion of his majesty's Irish subjects. From that first parliament of the thirteenth year of James, in which the spirit of a party was confronted in an embodied form in the metropolis, this malignant process set fully in and began its portentous growth.

But the ground for unmixed approbation is large—the country was divided—the circuits of justice distributed—the ancient laws were for ever abrogated—the laws of England established—and the tenures of property, which by an unfortunate facility, were adapted for the preservation of powers incompatible with civilization, abolished. In a word, the praise of Sir John Davis seems in a high degree justified, when writing of the reign of James, "in whose time, as there hath been a concurrence of many great felicities, so this among others may be reckoned in the first rank, that all the defects of the government of Ireland spoken of before, have been fully supplied in the first nine years of his reign; in which time there hath been more done in this work of reformation of this kingdom, than in the 440 years which are past since the conquest was first attempted."

Parliament.—We cannot, consistently with the neutral position which we are endeavouring to maintain, enter on the history of the first parliament of our present period, without first clearly, as our limits will allow, explaining our general view on the subject of the ancient parliaments of the kingdom. The subject may indeed serve as a useful, because perhaps the least offensive, application of the principles already stated in this essay. The high and uncompromising tone of all existing parties renders even the language of impartial statement unwelcome; for party stands upon extreme views and unqualified assertions of general maxims. The parliament of Ireland is no more, and may be more anatomically dealt with.

It is a sophism, not confined to party writers, but pervading history, that refers the after-workings of human agency, to the wisdom and virtue, or to the wickedness and folly of the agents concerned; and

it is the consequence of another still simpler error, which judges of the conduct of remote ages by principles, which are but the development of after events. The most candid writers, whose good sense and impartiality preserve them from direct and explicit misstatements of this class, yet in the very language they use, betray the clinging tendency to those fundamental errors. No single instance of this can be better selected, than the application of the term constitutional and unconstitutional, to the despotic measures and insubordinate resistances of ancient English and Irish history. The word has no sense thus applied: it means *the social organization of a people*, whatever it may be; and can only be used with relation to the recognised principles of the *existing* order of society to which it is applied. At present it applies to the organization and principles of the British polity, as established in 1688. In the reigns of the Plantagenets and Tudors it was altogether different, and *constitutional* must mean something wholly different. The struggles between opposing interests, as they gradually sprung up, have been *ultimately* productive of the happiest effects; but these effects have, by reflection, disguised or distorted the spirit in which they originated. The struggles against existing powers were often the result of extremity, and oftener still of the natural tendency to insubordination and susceptibility of excitement: however we may now rejoice in their total results, we cannot call them either constitutional or patriotic, for as to the first they were mostly the contrary, and, as to the latter, we doubt the meaning of the word, as commonly used. We neither can admit opposition to "the powers that be" to be necessarily constitutional, nor can we allow the contrary term to be applied to the efforts of ancient monarchs or communities, to maintain their established rights, even when a more enlightened philosophy can now discern their incompatibility with the more enlarged interests of mankind.

These reflections have a peculiar application to the history of parliaments, and above all to the parliaments of Ireland. And this will be more apparent by keeping in view the two main aspects in which this member of civil polity is to be viewed: first, as an organ of constitutional *transition and development*; and next, as *representing* the classes of which the state is composed. In these two senses, we shall make some remarks on Irish parliaments. Considered in the first light; viz:—as organs of change, we must emphatically observe, that the whole of the observations made in the last paragraphs apply in their fullest sense. Even in England—where there were actual principles to be asserted, actual rights to be maintained, and interests to be promoted—the struggles of parliaments were either the ordinary result of a forced reaction, or of a mere struggle for power. But *there* there was a constitution, there was political life and the elements of civil progress, which action and reaction fosters in its advance—a process so indomitable that it converts all things to growth. But in Ireland, the operation of this organ was far different: there was not only no civil growth, but the first elements were wanting; there was only a graft from England, but it did not take; the life was not diffused; there was no incorporation. The ill-tended and sickly shoot was allowed to degenerate and take its type from the wild stem into which it had been

irregularly forced: the known reproach (if such it be) "*Hibernis ipsis Hiberniores*" describes it best. It was not from the political capacities of a degenerate little colony struggling for existence at times, and at times to extend or maintain powers consistent with no form of government, that parliamentary wisdom, virtue, or efficacy, in any way not pernicious was to be looked for. Secondly, if we have recourse to the principle of *representation*, the force of our application is stronger yet. The principle admits of the widest flux of social transition through every opposite stage; and the question as to what class, or what interests were to be represented presents itself to the common sense of any person whose political passions do not interfere with his judgment. It is in its representative capacity assuredly, that most of the good and evil of parliaments is to be found—although, it must be allowed, that their agencies have been often remote enough from any recognition of the principle. But in Ireland, the principle of representation could not have any decidedly constitutional existence till the very time at which we are arrived. An aggregate of striving factions cannot be represented in any organ of regular, uniform, or sane operation.

As a constitutional member of the state the introduction of parliaments in Ireland would have been premature at any time before the seventeenth century, were it not for another important consideration—that in the adoption of a form of polity for a nation, which was in a great measure of English growth, and to be incorporated with England at some future stage of existence. But it must not be lost sight of that there cannot fairly be claimed for the Irish parliaments of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, a constitutional authority and independence, which was altogether unknown till after the civil wars in England; and but a theory, until the revolution which placed king William on the throne.

The sense of the age is, however, best seen in its history. It is evident from the facts what Irish parliaments were. They are not to be regarded by other lights than those by which they appreciated themselves. It may, indeed, be admitted, that Irish parliaments, as first instituted by Henry II., and as continued under the successive reigns to the tenth year of Henry VII., were free to an extent unknown in England; yet that this freedom might most justly be termed licentiousness, and rather proceeded from the general neglect and confusion of Irish affairs, than from any expediency in the thing, or particular spirit of Irish parliaments, is plain enough from all their previous history. The fact is directly contrary: it was found that the independence of the Irish parliament was not maintained by its own acts, unless when actually in a state of direct rebellion, but only operated to place it in the power of the lords-deputy to rule as they pleased, and dispose of the interests of the kingdom, (which no one ever thought of,) as best suited their private ends. Such was the actual origin of Poynings' law, which for the first time, gave a salutary and indeed needful control to the English council: and brought into action the only disinterested authority for the protection of the welfare and improvement of Ireland.

From the preamble of an act passed in the reign of Henry IV., it is

inferred by Leland, that the parliaments were called and held by the lords-deputy at will. The same is to be inferred from the statute 2 Elizabeth, in which is stated, that before the act of Poynings, liberty was given to the governors to call parliaments at their pleasure. This right was exercised in every period, without being questioned by any party, or controlled by any intervention of authority. It is quite evident, how completely it placed the parliament at the disposal of the deputy; especially if it be considered, that from the great inconvenience of attending, it was in his power to select his members at will. Every class of the people were the sufferers: the parliament were used either to sanction extortions, to serve the purposes of faction, or to oppress individuals. The barons, whose attendance was more commonly forced to place them in the deputy's power than for any other end, were exposed to the dangers from leaving their homes unguarded. The meetings of parliament were, in fact, nothing very different from those well known courts and commissions by which the monarchs of England to so late a period exercised a power above the laws of England. Against this great source of abuse there was a long discontent which grew in extent and earnestness, with the intelligence and property of the people; redress was sought and granted, for it could not well be denied. But the corrupt influences to which the parliament was a main support, were not to be set aside by statutes; and there was a real necessity for some such instrument of rule, in a country not quite mature enough to be governed by the mere control of law. Thus, though at different times laws were made restricting the meetings and powers of parliament, these laws were uniformly dropped in oblivion. Other abuses grew up, which threw absurdity upon the very name of parliament, as applied to these irregular assemblies, which became altogether reduced to instruments of tyranny and faction. The laws of one meeting were repealed in the next, as opposite parties or rival families succeeded each other in a transient ascendancy. Nor in the long interval between the statute 34 Henry VI. and Poynings' law, can we see any principles but those of castle dietation represented in the Irish parliaments.

It was in vain that the wisest monarchs who sat upon the British throne, and the best intentioned statesmen who attempted to compose the troubled waters of Irish anarchy, for centuries endeavoured to arrest, neutralize, or convert to good this corrupt and disorderly engine of misrule, that some statutes limited the sessions, and others reduced the power of imposing subsidies upon the commons: the factious nobles, unchecked by any efficient control, were reckless of statutes, which could not be enforced without an army; and the idle restraint soon dropped into quiet oblivion. Lords-deputy could at best convert the abuse to the ends of government, and maintain their own authority by a compromise, in which the interests of the people were sacrificed to those of the turbulent, intriguing, and unruly lords of the pale. The parliament was but a post of vantage for the alternate missiles of opposite parties in the game of faction. At length the evil arose to its extreme height—the factions of York and Lancaster made this mockery of a parliament ridiculous—by multiplication every party had its parliament which made statutes and defied all law for itself.

Such were the growing disorders which long continued to gather power, until the English pale was nearly swallowed up in the surrounding sea of barbarism; while the Geraldines and Butlers, regardless of all other interests, contended for pre-eminence.

While the feebleness of the English monarchs, or the difficulties of their home affairs, left Ireland exposed to neglect, these evils arose to an alarming height; and it is quite apparent, that there was no saving strength in the government to ward off the extremity of a ruinous lapse into barbarism. The prosperous vigour of that alert and vigilant prince, Edward IV., gave the first decided check to this ruinous descent.

From this, a succession of prosperous reigns was destined to restore the prosperity of the pale; the interests of the country, and the main obstacles, which, till then, had retarded its advance, began to be in some degree understood on both sides of the Channel. And if abuse and disorder still, but too successfully, continued to maintain their station, yet many well-aimed and not wholly unsuccessful efforts were made to suppress and counteract them. The appointment of Sir Edward Poynings in 1494, was the result of an express and well understood design to bring down the crest of every faction, and reduce the turbulent and refractory barons to the state of subjects; and as parliament had now for a long time been the arena of their contentions, it was there their power was to be checked. A general reform of abuses was to suppress the oppressions of ministerial agents, and to raise the condition of the people; but the crowning measure of this administration was the great and essential reform, which corrected the constitutional defects of the parliament. For this purpose, after a full and careful scrutiny into the state and history of the country, after hearing every representation, and thoroughly investigating every complaint, he summoned that celebrated parliament at Drogheda, which was the first step towards the erection of a legislative assembly in any way deserving of the name in Ireland, and which, by its wise enactments, left many permanent benefits to the country. Among these, one demands our especial notice—the law for the regulation of future parliaments. We insert the important limitations for the benefit of the reader:—"Item, At the request of the commons of the land of Ireland, be it ordained, enacted, and established, that at the next parliament that there shall be holden by the king's commandment and licence, wherein among other things the king's government intendeth to have a general resumption of his whole revenues, since the last day of the reign of king Edward II., no parliament be holden hereafter in the said land, but at such seasons as the king's lieutenant and council there first do certify the king under the great seal of that land, the causes and considerations, and all such acts as them seemeth should pass in the same parliament, and such causes, &c. &c., affirmed by the king and his council to be good and expedient for that land, and his licence thereupon, as well in affirmation of the said causes and acts, as to summon the said parliament under his great seal of England had and obtained; that done, a parliament to be had and holden after the form and effect afore rehearsed. And if any parliament be holden in that

land hereafter contrary to the form and provision aforesaid, it be deemed void, and of none effect in law."

By these provisions it is evident, that two main evils were guarded against; the obtrusive influence of the barons, and the tyrannical usurpations of the local government. It was a matter of minor importance from what source, or in what spirit legislation might be conceived, so long as it was to pass the scrutiny of a vigilant and disinterested council. There was not of course, and will never be, any infallible security in the best constituted legislature against unwise and unjust laws; but assuredly, by this enactment, the best safeguard which the age afforded, was brought to bear—an instrument, immature for good, was secured from evil—its infant steps were guided, and it learned its functions under the needful support of a fostering control.

The purpose for which we have noticed these facts of our parliamentary history, does not demand that we should pursue that history throughout the period in which we shall frequently have to meet these facts in detail as they occur. Our only present object having been to guard the understanding of our candid readers, against the fallacious estimate which recent historical writers seem to have entertained of the importance of our ancient parliaments; we may here generally observe on the history of Poyning's law, that the nobles of Ireland long continued to retain too much influence to be set aside by the clause of an enactment. It became a matter first of courtesy and then of right, to call in the advice and obtain the sanction of the nobles for the laws to be transmitted to England: the statute was but loosely worded, and one convenient evasion followed another, until abuses rose which it was the business of further enactments and declarations to correct. Sometimes the balance of encroachment preponderated for the lords, sometimes for the crown, and latterly for the commons, according to the varying vicissitudes of the successive reigns between Henry VII., and Charles II. The declaratory act, however, of Philip and Mary, is to be regarded as having fixed the law, and given to the Irish parliament the form which it preserved during this period.

As this subject approaches one of those numerous Irish questions on which much controversy has prevailed, we cannot, before proceeding further, too strongly recall to our reader that the reflections we have here offered, are in no way connected with the further question, once so violently agitated, as to the dependence of the Irish parliament upon that of England. On this question, now happily of no practical importance, we believe that there is no disagreement; and we shall notice it more directly hereafter among the literary memoirs of the following period. Our object in this introduction has been only to illustrate some principles, of which the application has been too little observed.

The parliaments of Ireland from the beginning and throughout, independent of the parliaments of England, were found by certain experience, to be unmeet instruments for legislation, without the intervention of far other more disinterested, wiser, and more effective powers: they could only be available for any good end, so far as they could be governed by a discretion more just, temperate, and beneficially directed, according to the then existing interests of the entire country. It was

necessary that the parliament which represented no *constitutional* interest of any kind should be reclaimed from its subordination to factious and private aims, and made available for the purposes of government; there was but one way; and to establish this was the real intent of the law we have so far noticed here.

Such was the legal constitution of the Irish parliament, when James's first parliament was convened, under circumstances which gave to the measure, in some degree, the character of a new and hazardous experiment. The constituency was altered—the dominant factions were remotely different—a new and vast power had been introduced—a popular spirit had also been called into life; the hands by which this vast change had been effected, were unconscious of the new and vast elements they had thrown into the caldron. The period was one of new and vast importance. Ireland had, for the first time, received the elements of constitutional formation. The first dim twilight of civil order and national equalization began to glimmer above the eastern steep. The laws and institutions of England were established as those of Ireland, to the full extent that was within the limits of possibility; nor was there thenceforward any drawback upon the advance of the country, but those which originated in its own inherent constitution. These were, however, large enough to be all but fatal, and are such as to suggest the suspicion that the policy of James was premature; and that a long period of legislative and administrative government, should have preceded the use, and prepared the way for this great national change. The parliament was convened, with all the evils, and without any of the merits of a representative body: its election and its meeting were the violent effort and disgraceful contention of two parties, neither of which entertained any sense of the higher importance of the occasion, or any consideration of the interests of the nation thus newly launched into a stormy existence. Whatever, indeed, may be contended in favour of the general policy of introducing the institutions of a free and civilized state, into a country absolutely constituted of contentious elements, and yet in the very infancy of political development; it can hardly be denied with any sincerity, that the juncture was adverse in the extreme to the convention of an assembly of parties which could only come together to clash. The government, however, only looked to the general allaying of discontents, both by the public exposure of unreasonable complaints, and the redress of just ones; and probably considered that a parliamentary sanction could alone justify, and give permanence to the dispositions they had made, and still contemplated. All parties looked forward with earnest hopes or fears to the event; since the last previous parliament, twenty-seven years before, circumstances had also occurred to increase the effective strength of such an assembly. The addition of seventeen counties, and of numerous boroughs, and the extension of the English jurisdiction to the whole of Ireland, had imparted the character which it had hitherto wanted, of a national representation. That such was the design of the government was publicly made known, and the country was invited to make known its complaints, and all persons were allowed to submit their views for the public good and the improvement of the country. No sect or party was excluded, or no grievance was sup-

pressed by any injunction of authority. But it is hardly to be supposed that the real state of public feeling was known. Such, indeed, is ever the fatal obstacle to governments, surrounded as they are, and ever were, by the flatteries and misrepresentations of party. Of course, every faction had its own notions of the interest of the country, and was prepared to strive for the assertion of its own illusions and interests. The Roman Catholic party, by far the most considerable in the country, was, and not without ground, apprehensive of the designs of government. They inferred some intention of some new measures of a penal nature against themselves. Already subject to penalties which were gratuitously harsh, because, both in their conception and execution, they fell far short of any purpose, but to awaken resentment, it was but natural to expect stronger and more effective enactments. Their party was to some extent called into existence, by the measures which government had found reason to employ, but never had the severity or firmness to carry into effect. Under the alarming apprehensions thus excited, they had recourse to the most strenuous exertions to secure the balance of the elections in their favour. Six Roman Catholic peers, Gormanston, Slane, Killeen Trimleston, Dunsany, and Lowth, addressed a remonstrance to king James. They complained that the laws designed to be enacted, had not been previously communicated to the Irish peers; they expressed the general fear communicated by the creation of so many new boroughs, which seemed to indicate some meditated exertion of government influence, unlikely to be acceptable to the existing constituency; they represented the unfavourable impressions likely to be made at home and abroad, by such arbitrary courses; and prayed that the creation of new boroughs should be deferred till the course of extended wealth should serve to call for such privileges. This remonstrance, unfortunately, received no notice from the king. We are far from thinking that the desired concessions were expedient, for the preponderance of a popular party could not have been in any respect salutary; but a more conciliatory mode of proceeding would have had the most beneficial influence. But the remonstrance was little suited to the arbitrary spirit of the time, and it was considered in itself as an act of contumacious opposition. The government sent its agents into every province, and neglected no means, then in use, to obtain the desired majority. The clergy of the church of Rome were not absent from their post; they represented the sacredness of the cause, and denounced the censures of the church. The people were also persuaded that Tyrone was preparing his return with an efficient army, which must secure their triumph. These influences, supported by every other resource by which popular spirit is roused or coerced, secured the election of a considerable party, who were pledged to the single object of defeating the government, and entirely frustrating its measures.

The popular party made their entrance into Dublin, with a demonstration of wealth and strength that announced their triumph and awakened alarm. Their retinues were, in many instances, not less than two hundred followers, and the aggregate must have amounted to a large body. As, however, it was their purpose to raise difficulties of every kind, they affected the apprehension of danger from the

castle having been selected as the place for their meetings, and affected to entertain fears from the presence of the castle guard, and the vicinity of the powder magazine. The triumphant sensations of this party were much abated, and its animosity imbibed by the discovery, that the other party had been not less successful in the elections: it now appeared that the Protestant members present,* amounted to one hundred and twenty-five, while the Roman Catholics were but one hundred and one. The house of peers was composed of sixteen barons, twenty-five Protestant bishops, five viscounts, and four earls.

The first steps of the popular party answered their expectations, and promised a full and final interruption to the measures of the government. But their conduct was by far too rash and intemperate, and brought a speedy reaction, which terminated in the peaceable and orderly prosecution of the measures designed by the government.

On the 18th of May they met by appointment of the lord-deputy Chichester, and on their admission to the chamber were fortunately disarmed. Admission was also providentially refused to the numerous intruders, who came prepared to take whatever part they could in the proceedings. When assembled, the lord-deputy directed them to elect a speaker. This was the point seized upon for the trial of strength, or rather for the purpose of raising confusion. The popular party began by objecting, that several of the members present could have no right to vote, as their election had been illegal: on this point there began a confused and stormy altercation: the objections were but specious, and need not be recited. It was at length assented to, that the election of a speaker should precede all other questions: and then commenced another scene of still fiercer tumult. The candidates proposed were, Sir John Davis, the attorney-general, and Sir John Everard, a most respectable gentleman, who had been chief-justice, but, declining to take the oaths required by government, had retired upon a liberal pension. After much clamour on both sides, Sir Oliver St John reminded the house, that the custom on a division, was for the affirmative party to leave the chamber, and the negative to remain; he therefore proposed, that those who supported Davis, should follow himself to the lobby. They had no sooner retired, than one of the other party got up and made a speech, urging the most exciting motives of their party, in language to which a respectable Roman Catholic prelate has given the sanction of a report. "They are gone, ill betide them; and they have left us, as it is our right to be, in possession of this house. Wherefore seeing that we have prospered thus far, we ought thankfully to pursue the course which God seems to have pointed out, by setting up here that holy faith, for which, if necessary, we should be ready to die. We are encouraged in this by the example of our fathers and kinsmen, who, fighting for the Catholic faith, obtained an honourable death and a glorious immortality. Should it be our lot so to perish, we shall be at least their equals in renown; but if we avoid their indiscretions, higher fame and happier fortune will attend us. Nor is there reason to apprehend that in so doing we shall trespass aught against the

* Six members are mentioned as absent.

king's majesty; seeing that the same should be his especial care, and that nothing more is necessary, either for his soul's salvation or for the righteous ruling of his kingdom. Come then, let us maintain that religion for which it is honourable to fight and seemly to die, and to exalt which is the highest glory of man. First of all, let us choose for ourselves a speaker and a leader."*

The impulse was caught and obeyed—the party proceeded to elect Everard, and to place him in the chair. The other party when they entered, insisted upon his leaving the chair; they were answered, that in leaving the room they had abandoned their right of election. This quibble could have no weight; Everard was desired to leave the chair: he sat still. The other party resolved to maintain the election of the majority, placed Sir John Davis in Everard's lap, and a scene of the most disgraceful and turbulent contention followed. Everard still refusing to leave the chair, was forced from it by the Treasurer, the Master of the Ordnance and others, while Sir Daniel O'Brien, and Sir William Buck, strove to keep him in his seat. After a short struggle, Sir John Davies was put in possession, and the whole of the popular party withdrew. The proceedings which followed must be as briefly told: the seceding members were repeatedly summoned to attend, but continued obstinate against all solicitation or remonstrance. They formed an association to obtain redress for their assumed grievances: these entirely related to the place, and present constitution of the parliament, and to the validity of the elections; they protested against all legislative acts, which should be carried during their own secession, and strongly intimated threats of insurrectionary resistance. To resist this menace, the force of government was as nothing—the seceders commanded, even in their own train, a force more than equal to any the lord-deputy could oppose to them, and there wanted but a word to raise the country into rebellion. Chichester prudently averted the storm, which he was unprepared to resist, by a prorogation.

The scene of contest was thus removed to the English court. Thither the parties now prepared to carry their complaints; the seceders had desired permission to send their deputies, and received in return, a peremptory summons to answer before the king for their irregular conduct. Eight of the seceding peers, with sixteen commoners, and a numerous train of lawyers, were deputed, to plead their cause and to enforce the objects of their party. The cost of this deputation was to be defrayed by a tax of five shillings on every gentleman, two shillings for a yeoman, and fourpence for a peasant. Against this tax Chichester directed a proclamation, which had the desired effect of preventing its collection.

Meanwhile, the delegates had reached London, and had been received by king James with every demonstration of frank kindness and condescension. This was consonant both with his natural love of justice, and his disposition both to exercise and display his attainments. It was his object to draw out the opinions of these men who were to be considered as fairly representing the spirit and designs of their party, and in his attempt to execute this design, he found an ample

* Phelan, from Burke's *Hibernia Dominicana*.

opportunity for the exercise of his best faculties. In repeated conferences, wherein he artfully suppressed all appearance of a determinate purpose, he led the far less wily Irishmen into the expression of their opinions on every subject. All caution was gradually set aside by the seeming frankness and real art of the king, until they were betrayed at length by his apparent ease and unconsciousness of design, to the maintenance of tenets which prudence at least should have suppressed. Among other questions, he asked, "whether the heresy of a prince, otherwise sovereign and absolute, forfeited his title and justified the pope's interference against him?"* Some felt their ground and were silent; but some, heated perhaps by the course of a conversation which was adapted to warm their party feelings, answered, that in their opinion it did. The consequence was not precisely that which might have been expected from his previous deportment, the king forgot his own purpose—overlooking the real importance of such an admission—his personal resentment asserted itself. Luttrell and Talbot, whose language had been most peremptory, and who had allowed themselves to be betrayed by the heat of argument into an indecorous display of warmth, were committed one to the Tower and the other to the Fleet prison. Talbot was fined £10,000 by the Star Chamber. At the same time some private letters of Sir P. Barnwell, containing language to the same effect, had been intercepted, and were submitted to the council. He was, in consequence, compelled to retract his opinions, by a written form dictated by the council.† These intervening incidents were calculated to throw some light upon the complaints of the delegates, but it is most probable that the help of such a comment was unnecessary.

The report was brought in, and on the 21st of April, the king gave judgment before the council, and in presence of all the complainants. We may here complete our summary of this transaction, with some extracts from James's speech:—

"These gentlemen will not deny that I have lent them my own ear, and have showed both patience and a desire to understand their cause at full: it resteth now that we make a good conclusion, after so long a debate.

* * * * *

"I promised to these noblemen and gentlemen of the recusant party of parliament, justice with favour; let them see whether I have performed my promise. Sure I am, but for performance of promise, I should not have given such a patient hearing, nor made such a curious search into the causes of their complaints, neither should I make such a conclusion as I am now like to make of this business.

"In the search (though I doubted not of the honour and justice of the lord-deputy's government) yet I dealt not with him as with my servant—not as with one the most unreprouable governor that ever was in that kingdom (as some of yourselves have acknowledged him to be to myself) but as with a party. But after the commissioners

* Phelan.

† Ibid.

had heard all that could be alleged, I found him, indeed, a faithful servant by their certificate, which was *conclusio in causa*.

"Now, if I should do you justice, I should take you at your word, lay together your offer in your letters, and the articles which my attorney laid open to you; then shall you see your case.

"For you made offer, that if you failed to prove any one point of that which was contained in your complaint, you would renounce my favour in all: *yet have you scarce proved one word true*; but on the other side, almost every point hath been proved contrary.

"Of fourteen returns, whereof you complain, but two have been proved false; and in the government nothing hath been proved faulty, except you would have the kingdom of Ireland like the kingdom of heaven.

"To the first, an unusual favour was offered you by my deputy; for he sent for you, and advised you to consider what laws were fit to be propounded for that commonwealth, and offered to concur with you. Your answer should have been humble thanks on your knees; but you neglected that favour, and answered by your agent, in the name of the rest, *That you would first be made acquainted with such bills, as the deputy and council there had resolved to transmit*.

"Then I sent commissions to examine, as well the by, as main business which you first presented to be the cause of your appealing to me; but instead of thanks for that favour, there came yet more new complaints, which because the council here have already answered, I will not speak of.

"Now, if you look back to your own miscarriage and my lenity, you shall find that your carriage hath been most undutiful and unreasonable, and in the next degree to treason, and that you have nothing to fly to but to my grace.

"The lower house, here, in England, doth stand upon its privileges as much as any council in Christendom, yet if such a difference had risen there, they would have gone on with my service, notwithstanding, and not have broken up their assembly upon it: you complain of fourteen false returns, are there not many more complained of in this parliament, yet they do not forsake the house for it.

"Now for your complaints touching parliament matters, I find no more amiss in that parliament, than in the best parliament in the world. Escapes, and faults of sheriffs, there may be, yet not them proved, or if it had been proved, no cause to stay the parliament; all might have been set right by an ordinary course of tryal, to which I must refer them. But you complain of the new boroughs, therein I would fain feel your pulse, for yet I find not where the shoe wrings.

"For first you question the power of the king, whether he may lawfully make them? And then you question the wisdom of the king and his council, in that you say, there are too many made. It was never before heard, that any good subject did dispute the king's

power in this point. What is it to you whether I make many or few boroughs; my council may consider the fitness, if I require; but what if I made forty noblemen, and four hundred boroughs, the more the merrier, the fewer the better cheer.

"But this complaint, as you made it, was preposterous; for in contending for a committee before you agreed of a speaker, did put the plough before the horse, so as it went untowardly like your Irish ploughs. But because the eye of the master maketh the horse fat, I have used my own eyes in taking a view of these boroughs, and have taken a list of them all. God is my judge, I find the new boroughs except one or two, to be as good as the old; comparing Irish boroughs new, with Irish boroughs old, (for I will not speak of the boroughs of other countries,) and yet, besides the necessity of making them, like to encrease and grow better daily; besides, I find but few erected in each county, and in many counties but one borough only, and those erected in fit places, near forts or passages for the safety of the country: methinks you, that seek the good of that kingdom, should be glad of it.

"I have caused London, also, to erect boroughs there, and when they are thoroughly planted will be a great security to that part of the kingdom; therefore you quarrel with that which may bring peace to the country. For the persons returned out of these boroughs, you complain they have no residence; if you had said they had no interest, it had been somewhat, but most interest in the kingdom, *et qui habent interesse*, are like to be as careful as you for the weal thereof.

"I seek not *mendicata suffragia*, such boroughs as have been made, since the summons are wiped away at one word for this time; I have tried that and done you fair play, but you that are of a contrary religion, must not look to be the only law-makers; you that are but half subjects, should have but half privilege; you that have an eye to me one way, and to the pope another way—the pope is your father in *spiritualibus*, and I in *temporalibus* only, and so have your bodies torn one way, and your souls drawn another; you that send your children to the seminaries of treason, strive henceforth to become full subjects, that you may have *cor unam*, and *viam unam*, and then I shall respect you alike; but your Irish priests teach you such grounds of doctrine, as you cannot follow them with a safe conscience, but you must cast off your loyalty to your king.

"Touching the grievances whereof you have complained, I am loath to spend breath on them, if you charge the inferior ministers of the country, all countries are subject to such grievances; but if you charge the deputy and state *nihil probatur*, indeed I hear not from you, but from others, there is one thing grievous to the country, that notwithstanding composition established in the provinces, the governors there do send out their purveyors, who take up their achates, and other provision upon the country, if this had been complained of to the deputy or to me, it had been reformed: the deputy himself at Dublin, doth not grieve the country with any such burden.

"Another thing there is that grieveth the people, which is that in the country, where there is half peace and half war; the sheriffs and soldiers in their passage do commit many extortions.

"For these grievances I myself will call the deputy unto me, and set down such orders in this time of vacation, as these abuses shall be redressed and clear taken away. And if any such disorder be suffered hereafter, it shall be only for fault of complaining: and because the meaner sort will perhaps fear to complain, I would have such gentlemen of the country, as are of best credit, to present complaints, which they may do in such manner as the parties who prefer the complaints may not be known.

"There is a double cause, why I should be careful of the welfare of that people. First, as king of England, by reason of the long possession the crown of England hath had of that land; and also as king of Scotland: for the ancient kings of Scotland are descended of the kings of Ireland; so as I have an old title as king of Scotland, therefore you shall not doubt to be relieved when you complain so as you will proceed without clamour.

"Moreover my care hath been, that no acts should be preferred that should be grievous to that people; and to that end I perused them all except one, that I saw not till of late, that is now out of door; for I protest I have been more careful for the bills to be past in that parliament, then in the parliament of England.

"Lastly, for imputations that may seem to touch the deputy, I have found nothing done by him but what is fit for an honourable gentleman to do in his place, which he hath discharged as well as any deputy did, and divers of you have confessed so to me; and I find your complaints against him and the state, to be but causeless expostulations.

"To conclude, my sentence is, that in the matter of parliament, you have carried yourselves tumultuously and undutifully; and that your proceedings have been rude, disorderly, and inexcusable, and worthy of severe punishment; which by reason of your submission I do forbear, but not remit, till I see your dutiful carriage in this parliament, where by your obedience to the deputy and state, and your future good behaviour, you may redeem your bye-past miscarriage, and then you may deserve not only pardon but favour and cherishing."

The delegates were dismissed with this characteristic reprimand. Sir A. Chichester's triumph was completed by the fulness and publicity of their exposure: he received in addition a peerage, and the grant of the estates of Sir Cahir O'Doherty. Returning home, he now without delay, called together the parliament. All parties were by this convinced, some of the danger, some of the impolicy of further opposition to government, and became emulous in their subserviency. The parliament met with this favourable disposition, and the following enactments passed without any remarkable opposition.

"An act of recognition, reciting that Ireland, which before his majesty's access to the crown, had been subject to continual *rebellions, rapines, and oppressions*, was by his majesty's most gracious government reduced to better order; and that he has established his government in the hearts of his people, by the proclamation of oblivion, and suppressing petitions for trespasses done in the war between subject and subject, at his first coming, by his special charters of pardon, by name freely granted to many thousands; by remitting many great

debts, arrears of rent, and forfeitures, and by strengthening defective titles, and regranteeing the lands to them on surrenders; by erecting court-houses, and enlarging the number of the judges; and by setting a civil plantation in the forfeited parts of *Ulster*, (formerly the nest of rebellion,) to the great security of the commonwealth.

2d. An act that all crimes committed on the sea, within the jurisdiction of the admiralty, shall be tried in any county, according to the rules of the common law, by commission to the admiral or his deputy, and three or four more, or any four of them.

3d. An act for taking away benefit of clergy in certain cases.

4th. An act for attainder of the earls of Tyrone and Tyrconnell, Sir Cahir O'Dogherty, and several others.

5th. An act to repeal some former acts prohibiting trade or commerce, with the Irish enemies, or to marry or foster with them, and commanding to seize them as spies.

6th. An act of repeal of a former statute against bringing in, retaining, or marrying with Scots.

7th. An act for repairing and mending highways and causeways, &c.

8th. An act for avoiding private and secret outlawrys.

9th. An act of oblivion and general pardon.

10th. An act for one subsidy, which amounted to no more than £26,042, and yet the Irish complained of it as a heavy tax, though they did not pay above two-thirds of it at most.

And so the parliament was by proclamation dissolved in October, 1615.

The long series of civil workings which followed the demise of James I., and during the reign of his successor, demand a wider scope than we can here afford. The period is more involved in the difficulties caused by conflicting statements, than any other, perhaps within the whole range of history. The concurrent truth of opposite statements is not unlikely to be the most just conclusion, as the two main classes of writers who are opposed to each other, rather vary by the suppression of true facts than by advancing falsehoods. It may, however, even thus appear to those, who look fairly on all that must be admitted, that the most comprehensive view is likely to be also the most distinct: for whatever importance may be attributed to any class of alleged facts, it cannot fail to be observed that a few great, prominent, and governing influences were necessarily at work; and lead to inferences independent of all partial, transient, or local causes. There is, also, nothing plainer to the reflecting student of history than the distinction of Polybius which is cited by Temple, between the *causæ suasoriæ* and the *causæ justificæ*—the motives and the justifications of action. There is no course of political conduct which has ever been pursued, which has not been urged upon the public mind, upon some equitable ground of principle; or has any public crime been ever perpetrated which has not been justified by reasons and causes not unfounded in reality, and by facts which, when looked on superficially, will afford a seeming excuse. To apprehend this general principle is easy enough; but it is another thing to follow it out in the wide-spread mazes of detail we have now before us.

The historians of 1641 are divided into two opposite classes, who

disagree more or less in all their statements. But it is, however, worthy of notice, that this disagreement cannot be said to reach farther back than comparatively recent times. The views of political parties change, and statements are boldly put forth by the leading men of one generation, which their successors in the next find necessary to explain away or contradict. Under such circumstances, the fairest and most satisfactory course to be pursued, in a work which aims to avoid all controversial views, will be to give the most explicit statement to the allegations on every side, so far as they have any just or specious pretence to a foundation in fact. Such is the course we shall follow when we come to the details of this eventful period. We must here confine ourselves to some general observations.

A multitude of causes, not easily disentangled from each other, contributed from the very beginning of the settlement of king James, as already described, to cause discontent and disaffection. If the general condition of the kingdom was improved, many were deprived of real or imaginary rights; of many the prospects were depressed, and none who conceived themselves in any way the losers, whether rightfully or otherwise, were likely to acquiesce contentedly in the new order of things. Among these classes, if they must be admitted to have been numerous who had ground for just complaint, it can be seen that there were far more whose grievances were either pretended or fanciful. But there were many whose conduct was actuated by the mere love of disorder and thirst for spoil and slaughter—many whom the zeal of party inflamed—and many who, combined by a deeper and further-sighted will and energy, acted from a sense of stern and uncompromising duty, which was directly opposed to the policy, and government of England.

All of these, though differently actuated, and widely different in the scale of moral or intellectual estimation, were inevitably combined by the strong connexion of a common purpose and a common enemy; and as the course of a few years brought together and matured for them a system of concerted action, they assumed the form which all such aggregations will ever assume. The views of the most enlightened or influential of the sections of which they consist will give a specious and consistent stamp to their entire conduct: they become one in pretence. All that is glaringly unjust, all that admits of no high construction is suppressed and merges in the pretended claim and complaint of conscience or justice.

From the grievances justly complained of, there is also a very considerable deduction to be made for the absolute necessity of a strong and peremptory maintenance of the law against the numerous oppositions and difficulties arising from an unsettled state of things. Rather an undue stress is laid upon arbitrary decisions which not unfrequently appeared to set the law aside. They were quite consonant with the constitutional knowledge of the age; and if they were not, the operation of law as then subsisting, was inadequate to the condition of the country. These injustices, which must be among the results of arbitrary power when transfused through subordinate jurisdictions, have met enough of our notice. The extortions of an undisciplined, irregular, and ill-paid soldiery committed to the command of the proprietors of castles and territories, could not fail to excite a very justifiable discontent, and to

as well the murmur of complaint; the same must be said of the severities and of the corrupt administration of ecclesiastical courts. There was also a preference, to some extent mistaken, in favour of new persons, to the neglect of a large, influential, and necessarily proud and aspiring aristocracy of the country, and a spirit of bitterness was thus excited and nourished, which tended to raise opposition, when all opposition must have swelled the mass which fermented slowly, but surely, into the fierce amalgam of rebellion.

But in the frank admission of the numerous causes of complaint which existed, and tended to give a pretext and colouring to this rebellion, it would be an absurd illusion, for a moment to attribute to them an effect which mere discontents and grievances could not have produced. To organize a nation, in the feeling of a common cause, whether for good or evil, just or unjust, demands something more than the murmurs of factious grievance, or the irregular ebullitions of popular malcontent. A profounder and more pervading machinery of organized and organizing intelligence, method, and unity of purpose, are demanded to call up the stormy energies of a nation. A more expanded survey of the events of the reign of Charles I. will exhibit the visible operation of two several trains of circumstance tending to a common result. The civil agencies which we have partially observed, were trivial and transient in effect, compared with the cross current, to the tumultuous rush of whose course they were in due time to add the impetus of their power. The court of Rome, which had at no time acquiesced in so large a blank in the map of her ecclesiastic dominion, was on the watch with a sleepless eye that lost no moment of advantage: she was cemented in the bond of common creed and mutual interest with the discontented at home and abroad: the sons of the O'Neils and the O'Moores had grown up in the credit and discipline of foreign courts and armies, and were waiting for the ripeness of the time. And to this all, both of good or evil, were destined to lead the way.

Through the interval between the plantations of James I. and the rebellion, a very complex combination of causes was at work. The process of civil growth was intermixed with disorderly workings of various efficacy. A vast and sudden revolution of estate, which totally altered the condition of the people, could not with the same celerity change their moral state: the adjustment between the institutions and the people was necessarily imperfect. The people were not civilized to the level they had attained; the lords did not understand their precise rights or their subordinate obligations, and clung to ancient privileges. The government, however zealous for the good of the country, did not itself comprehend the progress and direction of the civil movements which were the great characteristic of that period: wise in their main designs, their intelligence was confined within narrow limits, and the result was not always either fortunate or just. To coerce the rude masses, they found it necessary to exercise powers inconsistent with the rights of the civilized aristocracy of the English pale: and in their most just resistance to the interference of a foreign influence, they mistook the means, and enormous evils were the result. Thus were measures of needful control mixed inseparably with acts of an oppressive tendency; and as the popular ideas of right were in that

period rather undefined, real oppressions were accompanied by numerous acts of seeming injustice. So that, like some cases of family litigation, reciprocal aggravations and mutual misunderstandings form a tissue of vexations not to be unravelled by any human skill. It was, indeed, evident, that the control of some impartial and peremptory hand was wanting to subdue the troubled elements which were at work, when king Charles I. succeeded to a revolutionary throne. His position was one replete with vast and untried dangers; the commoners of England had grown to adolescence, while he held them by the bonds of childhood. Not perhaps inferior in wisdom or virtue to the ablest monarchs of his period, he had neither wisdom, firmness, nor political virtue equal to the new emergency of his situation. In the emergency of his position in England, he regarded Ireland in no other relation than as it might be subservient to the difficulties of his new and critical position. With regard to this country, the policy pursued in the first years of his reign, inclined to relaxation: while it was adapted to conciliate the fears and discontents which troubled the nation, it had also the effect of awakening false hopes, and exciting the insolence of faction. Those whom it was only designed to relieve or to conciliate, with that unmeasured impulse so natural to Irish enthusiasm, felt all concession as the triumph of their party, and conducted themselves with arrogant overbearing and exacting defiance.

To this large and powerful party, the weakness and necessity of Charles compelled him to sell the true interests of the country, and the duties of his crown: without effectually conciliating their loyalty or satisfying their growing spirit of requisition, he gave discontent to their opponents; and two powerful parties grew up amid the perfidious tranquillity of a peace purchased and maintained by expedients and compromises as flimsy as the patching of a threadbare cloak.

The difficulties of the king increased, and with them the feebleness and impolicy of his government in Ireland. The discontents and animosities of which we have explained the grounds, increased, and the power of the civil authority grew less and less, when by a conjuncture of circumstances, unnecessary to detail here, Wentworth was sent over as lord-deputy. The course he adopted was one very singular for its vigour, sagacity, and efficacy: we cannot describe it so well as in the following extract from a profound and impartial writer:—"With a deep insight into the causes of Irish calamity, with a considerable address and undaunted resolution: with a spirit inaccessible to all factious or fanatical impulses, and an impartiality, the result at once of native benevolence and principled austerity; this great man, while he opposed himself to the wishes of every party, laboured indefatigably for the common welfare. Devotion to a master who was not worthy of such a servant—compassionate mercy towards the mass of the people, and severity to the local despots, whether Protestant or Roman Catholics, who had not yet learned to acknowledge either authority above them, or liberty below—these were the uniform characters of his arduous administration."* Too sagacious to stand on forms which become

* Phelan.

nugatory, when they are only the cover of intrigue and the hollow artifice of disaffection—too firm and resolute to enter into the entangled pretexts of lurking faction, Wentworth saw, and for a time acted upon the principle, that the disorders of the island were not within the scope of mere constitutional remedies; and that what was really wanting was the prompt and total suppression of those factions (and of the grounds on which they contended) by which the country was impeded in its advance. He saw, and he was, perhaps, the first who saw, that civil liberty had preceded civil order; and that it was essential to repress factions that used the powers and rights of men with the discretion of children.

But this praise has unfortunately a striking reverse: the strong will of Strafford sunk between the pressure of opposite emergencies. With all the stern singleness of policy which can be discerned in the main features of his conduct: he suffered himself to be entangled in the difficulties arising from a twofold purpose; while he clearly discriminated and desired to remedy the evils which retarded the advances of national prosperity, he was overruled at every step by a still more prevailing zeal for the interests of his master. Hence it became desirable to strengthen the hands of that party, whose interest could most easily be identified with those of the crown. But another cause operated to impell him further still in the same course: in his earliest attempts to assume a lofty and discretionary control over every existing authority, he was not suffered to proceed many steps before he came in contact with a power more firm and uncontrollable than any resistance he could bring to bear against it. The iron ramparts of the church of Rome had been by this time reared to an elevation too commanding, and fixed on a foundation too broad and deep, to be shaken by the will of Strafford. It had become a moral power and a law of nature, identified with the strength of the masses of the people. It could not be shaken by any force which he possessed. Of this power then, which he could not master, he was compelled to avail himself. The leaders of this party were not slow to perceive their advantage: they had but to declare loudly for the favourite objects of Strafford, the cause of Charles; while their leaders manifested a firmness of will equal to his own. The consequence soon becomes apparent in the history of that period. Strafford unhesitatingly adopted the party which constrained his politics and favoured his loyalty: and from that moment adopted that course which soon after become so fatal to Ireland. He constrained all resistance, it is true, and gave a transient preponderance to the laws of progress; and if the action thus impressed could have continued, it had been well. But in applying the power of his own firm will, he undermined all other constraints. The army he abandoned into the hands of the popular party: the corporations, the main bulwarks of civil order and of the constitution, he handed over to the leaders of a political conspiracy of which revolution was the settled aim. And to the consequences which were to result from this error, he scattered discontents and terrors with a bold hand, among all those classes which had any interest in the constitution of law and property which he was thus endangering. Among the most fatal errors of his policy, a disregard to settled rights leaves the deepest stain upon his Irish administration. He

had the rashness to renew the project of the plantation of Connaught; a measure which had already excited so much alarm, again awakened the fear and discontent of the West of Ireland. On former occasions either the fear or justice of the government had recoiled from the prosecution of this unjustifiable project: the vigour of Wentworth went straight to its mark, and set aside every consideration which opposed the thorough-working policy on which he acted. Had the course of English affairs given permanency to the measures of this able statesman and allowed his projects to be carried into effect we do not hesitate to say, that this, like many other strong measures, would have been conducive to the end proposed, and led to the most beneficial results. But it would assuredly remain on the page of impartial history as a signal example of good resulting from evil means, for no consideration can palliate the scandalous injustice of the entire proceeding. The property thus assailed had been confirmed by repeated acts, grants, patents and declarations of government; nor had any pretence of forfeiture arisen to give a colour to the scenes of tyrannical and fraudulent trials and inquisitions by which Wentworth deprived Longford, Galway, and Roscommon of their rights.

The actual consequences of these iniquitous proceedings were as unfortunate as the step itself was unjust. The termination of Wentworth's administration, and the sudden disruption of all control, occasioned by the civil wars in England, left the contentious animosities of Ireland uncontrolled, and aggravated by a large accumulation of real and imaginary wrongs. The merits of Wentworth were not such as to be fully appreciated: his successful care of trade, the preservation of order, and the repression of all minor despots, had no praise; but the stern and sweeping control which had allowed no consideration to stand in the way of his iron policy, was universally impressed in characters of hate and resentment. The better part of his policy had been for all, and it was resented by every part. It regarded the future, but it tended to embitter the prejudices and disturb the security of the present. He was encumbered by the difficulties, and entangled by the weakness, and inconsistencies of his master, and was thus compelled into false positions, and the adoption of dangerous and unjust expedients. In the adoption of a stern policy, of which the best recommendation was its principle of impartiality, he was soon brought into collision with a power to which he found it necessary to give way, and his administration was deprived of strict claim to be praised as impartial.

When, as we have said, the course of English affairs suddenly removed the strong control of this resolute and able minister, and for a season interrupted the ruling influence of English power, all the long accumulating passions of the popular party in Ireland swelled unrepressed and unresisted to their height. The claims which had been overruled—the rights which had been justly or unjustly set aside—the prejudices which had been trampled down—the parties which had been forced to quail—all felt themselves unchained from their indignant and forced repose. But above all, that religious animosity which is most deeply cherished by the most ignorant and most numerous classes,

was the prevailing spirit of the moment, which gave the impulse, and lent its name and form to every fierce element of national discontent.

During a long interval of seeming calm, the moral and political agencies to which the policy of king James had given birth, went on with that salutary working, which nothing short of actual insurrection could counteract. Though discontent and insecurity were spreading and combining into the elements of future havoc, trade and the cultivation of the soil were producing wealth, and wealth was effecting its civilizing changes. These too, lent their force to the approaching billow.

The country had much augmented in wealth, order, and civilization, during the previous interval of thirty years: trade had been extended, population increased, and a numerous class of those small proprietors which constitute the real force of a nation, and on whose prosperity its resources, freedom, and the stability of its institutions ultimately depend, was spreading widely in every county. But with the increase of the constituent forces of a nation, its disturbances become more hard to overrule: the scanty resources, the isolated discontents, and unskilful movements of the chiefs of the sixteenth century, could always be repressed by a decided march and with forces numerically far inferior. The deep and pervading discontents and excitements of 1641, raised the population of the whole island into a state of furious insurrection. In numbers, in arms, and in intelligence, as also perhaps in physical organization, the people had made a considerable advance; and through the greater part of the conflicts of this long and sanguinary rebellion, both parties were on a level as to discipline and success. This unfortunate circumstance, by which the war was prolonged to a disastrous duration, was partly owing to the fact, that the forces on either side were similarly composed. But we gladly avail ourselves of the prefatory character of this article, to turn away from the detail of this dreadful scene of blood.

The civil wars in England were terminated by the usual event of such contests; the protracted struggle between the people and the throne ended in the blood of the monarch, the suppression of the rebel commons, and the ascendant sway of a military despot. The Irish civil war, which, in the absence of all external pressure, would have raged while there remained a hand which could wield the weapon of civil murder, was soon controlled into tranquillity by the iron ranks of Cromwell, Ireton, and Ludlow.

The restoration brought with it peace, for civil war had taught its severe but transient lessons. But it was far from setting at rest the wrathful elements of strife and animosity. Many had been divested of their rights—many had obtained wrongful possessions—numerous claims on the score of service had arisen—a fearful balance of wrong and hostility lay fermenting in the scale of retribution: the fears and expectations of every class were roused into action. The king was embarrassed by this pressure of fierce opposites: the demands of justice, or gratitude, or the exigencies of policy were to be satisfied. He was in some degree relieved from his embarrassment, by a paper drawn up by the earl of Ossory, Sir John Clotworthy, and Sir A. Mervyn, containing the following estimate of property which might serve for the satisfaction of a large class of these claimants:—

| | | |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--|--------------------|
| "The estates of persons excepted by the act of indemnity | | £14,000 per annum. |
| Gifts and gratuities of Cromwell's to persons that had not served | | 9,000 " |
| English debentures and debts struck off | | 10,000 " |
| Lands in the county of Dublin, not disposed of | | 15,000 " |
| Lands in the county of Cork, not disposed of | | 25,000 " |
| Lands in the county of Kerry, not disposed of | | 7,000 " |
| Total | | £80,000* |

besides other interests in Connaught and Clare, and numerous estates to be discovered on further inquiry. This representation was considered to remove all difficulties. The king commanded a declaration to be drawn up for the settlement of the country, which he signed on the 30th November, 1660. In this declaration he confirmed the possession of all lands held on May 7th, 1659, by the acts 17 and 18 Car. I.; and engaged to make good such deficiencies as might be proved before the following first of May. He confirmed the allotments of lands possessed by soldiers in lieu of pay, excepting church lands, and such estates as had been obtained by bribery, prejudice, or other undue means; or which had been obtained by false admeasurement; or belonged to any of the regicides, or to persons who had endeavoured since the restoration to disturb the public peace, or openly displayed their hostility to his restoration and government. The officers who had claims yet unsatisfied for service before 1649, were to be satisfied for their respective arrears. Protestants, (with certain exceptions) whose lands had been given to adventurers or soldiers, were to be restored to them; and the present possessors to receive compensation and not to be made accountable for mesne profits. Innocent Papists were also to be restored under certain provisions in favour of purchasers to whom they might have sold their estates. A different provision was made for those, who having been engaged in rebellion, had submitted and adhered to the peace of 1648. Of these, any who had sold their estates, were to be bound by their own act, unless they had since served the king, in which case, they were to be admitted to the recovery of their estates, due compensation being first made to the possessor for repairs, improvements, and incumbrances affecting the estate before his possession and discharged by him. Thirty-six of the nobility and gentry were specially enumerated in the declaration, and restored at once without being put to the trouble of any proof.†

Such were the main provisions of this famous declaration; from the benefit of which they were excluded who were concerned in the surprise of the Castle in 1641, the judges of Charles I., they who had signed his sentence, and the guard who had been present at the execution. It was lastly provided that nothing in this declaration should affect the lands and tenements of any city or incorporated seaport town; but that such possessions should remain with the king to restore to such corporations as should be found deserving of his favour.

* Carte's Ormond, Vol. II. p. 216.

† Carte.

This settlement gave more satisfaction to the king's enemies than to his friends. It was upon the whole rather adapted to conciliate hostility than to reward friendship, or secure justice. While the claims of fanatic soldiers and adventurers were carefully satisfied, the provision for those who had fought the king's battles, or continued steady to their pledge of peace, were but nominal; the difficulties of proof were multiplied, and the claims to be paid off were disproportioned to the value of the estates. These grounds of complaint are well stated by Leland:—"In these instructions they complained, that the qualifications necessary to ascertain their innocence, were so severely stated, that scarcely any of their nation could expect a sentence of acquittal. No man was to be restored as an innocent Papist, who, at or before the cessation of the year 1643, was of the royal party, or enjoyed his property in the quarters of the rebels, except the inhabitants of Cork and Youghal, who were driven into these parties by force. No papist was to be deemed innocent who had entered into the Irish confederacy before the peace of forty-eight: none who had at any time adhered to the nuncio, the clergy, or the papal power in opposition to the royal authority; or who, having been excommunicated for his loyalty, had acknowledged himself an offender and received absolution. Whoever derived the title to his estate from any who died guilty of these crimes: whoever claimed his estate on the articles of peace, and thus acknowledged his concurrence in the rebellion: whoever in the English quarters held correspondence with the rebels: whoever before the peace of forty-six, or that of forty-eight, sat in any assemblies or councils of the confederates, or acted by any commissions derived from them: whoever employed agents to treat with any foreign papal power for bringing forces into Ireland, or acted in such negotiations, or harassed the country as wood kernes or "tories," as they were called before the departure of the Marquis of Clanricarde, were all to be considered as guilty of rebellion, and incapable of restitution."*

We need not here state the arguments put forward by either party, for or against these provisions; the fairness of some and the injustice of others need no comment now. The discontents and heartburnings which, just or unjust, they must have helped to prolong, and the leaven of bitterness which they preserved among a mass of ill combined ingredients, cannot escape the attention of the reflecting reader. It may be summarily stated, that no party effective was satisfied—the discontent of some and the fears of others contributed to scatter disaffection through every rank, and to foster the yet unextinguished elements of civil strife. To this, the feebleness of government, and the inadequacy of the military force which the need and extravagance of Charles could afford to Ireland, added strength; and, it may be said, that during his reign, the country was on the verge of an insurrection from which it was mainly preserved by the vigilance and activity of individuals, and the sagacious foresight and caution of the Duke of Ormonde—to the history of whose life we have referred the chief details of Irish history, during the reigns of Charles I. and II. But we may here observe, that there

* Leland, III. 418.

cannot be a fact more illustrative of the state of the country, and of the consequences of these arrangements here briefly noticed, than the circumstance that the London adventurers offered to resign their large property, together with all their mesne profits, in consideration of being reimbursed in their principal, with interest at the rate of three per cent.

To these causes of discontent, others not less effective lent their impulses ; great national distress was caused by a bill in the English parliament against the importation of Irish cattle, as yet the main article of Irish trade. For three years this unhappy measure continued to add to the accumulations of discontent by the aggravation of commercial embarrassment and the consequent diffusion of want and ruin. England itself soon felt the inconvenience and the insane enactment was repealed. In some respects the disposition which had produced this law may be said to have been beneficial. The prohibition against the exportation of Irish wool, though felt as a temporary grievance, under the sagacious care of Ormonde, gave rise to the manufacture of woollen cloths. That necessity, which, as Leland justly observes, "breaks through all laws and restraints," led the Irish to a clandestine trade with foreign ports, from which great benefits were derived.

But the interests of Ireland were at that moment, (1670,) light in the scale against the paltry ends of court intrigue, and the base parasites who surrounded that profligate and unprincipled monarch, Charles II. The duke of Ormonde, whose credit and influence were identified with the best interests of his country, was an object of hate and persecution to the duke of Buckingham, who laboured to displace him, and succeeded in the attempt. The disfavour (we may not say disgrace) of Ormonde, is not altogether to be attributed to the personal designs of this crafty and profligate individual : there was a strong underworking in England in favour of the Roman catholic party. Of the particulars of this the reader may expect a full account at a future stage of our task, we shall here only preserve the chain of this general statement.

The secret leaning of the king to the Roman church is now fully known. His brother, the duke of York, was a less disguised adherent, and the head of the Roman catholic party in England ; the secret of his religion was but formal. The court party, for the most part indifferent to any form of religion, were favourable to a system which essentially seemed to involve the re-establishment of arbitrary power : the cause of Rome was the cause of prerogative. But there was in England a popular spirit, not to be braved by the most cautious manifestation of these dispositions, and Ireland was the appropriate stage for the first experiments of the court. With this view lord Berkley was sent over, with instructions to give every sanction and encouragement to a party which has seldom been slow to seize a fair occasion. The Roman catholic prelates at once flung aside caution and concealment ; they silenced an effort made by the more moderate of the clergy to disclaim the doctrine of the pope's power over the civil government of nations : they celebrated their ordinances with ostentatious solemnity, and it is related that Talbot, the Roman catholic archbishop of Dublin, applied for and obtained a loan of the plate of Dublin castle for the celebration

of the mass. Their request was granted with a courteous message from secretary Leighton, that he hoped the mass might ere long be celebrated in the Cathedral of Christ's Church. The doctrine of the absolute power of the pope divided the Roman catholics, among whom there was, as there has ever since been, a strong but silent party opposed to extreme views. But though this party now expressed its opinions, and though the protestants, whose fears were excited to the last degree, joined their voice in deprecating the dangerous policy which the government had manifestly adopted, Berkley turned a deaf ear to all remonstrance. In vain Primate Margetson endeavoured to open a way for the complaints of the protestants—in vain Ormonde remonstrated—the castle was only open to the party which favoured the designs of the court of Charles. Berkley went on resolutely, but insidiously, to pull down the outworks of the church of England, or to fill them with hostile arms. The magistracy was transferred—the corporations were attempted to be thrown open—a common council of the popular party at once placed the city at the mercy of its enemies. A last step remained; the silent and gradual change of the composition of the army would complete the triumph of the court over the country and the constitution. A commission of inquiry, of which the ostensible object was justice, but the real design to effect a similar change with respect to property, completed the plan of the court and the alarm of the protestant party both in England and Ireland.

The discontents in England assumed a formidable attitude—the parliament spoke out—the profligate court of Charles was intimidated and wavered in its course—a change of policy was partially adopted—lord Essex, a man of firmness and rigid justice, was sent over in place of Berkley, but with perplexing and contradictory instructions, which he had the resolution to disregard where they were irreconcilable with his sense of right. A favourable change for the protestant party took place, but it was neither so decided or satisfactory as the state of England now made desirable. The duke of Ormonde was once more taken into favour: it was felt that his popularity in Ireland was necessary to give weight to the government and confidence to England. In Ireland his presence everywhere collected the aristocracy of the country; and while the castle was neglected, all that was respectable for rank, property, or influence, surrounded his abode.

In this difficult position of affairs, the duke of Ormonde exerted his usual ability, and there is reason enough to think that his success would have answered the temperate, wise, and firm course he pursued. But, as usually happens after the excessive depression of a great and powerful party, the balance of the political scale is only regained with a violent and dangerous reaction. The protestant feelings of England, slow but sure in their concentration, assumed at length that aggregated character which makes a people formidable to their rulers. The thunder clouds of revolution stood upon the horizon, and the venal and licentious court trembled at their awful mutterings from afar. An incident called forth the first expressions of the popular feeling; this was the celebrated popish plot, the fabrication of a mean and infamous impostor, but suggested by the plain indications of a state of the national spirit, which rendered this imposture an echo to the fears

and suspicions of the country. The allegation of a popish plot fell like a spark into gunpowder; and, for a season, the voice of common sense could not be heard in the uproar of accusation: the court itself was forced away in the torrent, and compelled to feign acquiescence in the fear and indignation of the people.

The effect was fatal to the policy of Ormonde. If the English were roused into a state of fear, for which there was comparatively little ground—in Ireland, where this fear, though unfounded in fact, was not incompatible with the state of things, the terror and exasperation was unavoidable. We shall not here pursue the course of incidents which tended to baffle the wisest resources of human policy, they belong to a further stage of this work. The duke of Ormonde adopted the course which deliberate reflection will approve—taking the necessary precautions of constraint, and avoiding extreme and rash applications of punishment. The protestant party, like every popular party, was discontented with an administration which fell short of their fears. The court party with dexterous readiness availed itself of complaints proceeding from their opponents, to throw discredit on an obnoxious lieutenant. The desire for an Irish insurrection, to promote the schemes of Shaftesbury, was disappointed by his prudence, and this was enough to awaken the clamour of court persecution.

The eventful era, which gave the next great impulse to the affairs of Ireland, is not to be immediately traced to any internal disposition of the people, or to any state of parties or combination of incidents in this country, but must mainly be referred to their origin in the events of English history. It was the direct cause of the revolution of 1688. The character of James II. was feeble and unadapted to the time; he was devoid of judgment and resolution, yet obstinate in his determinations, and bigoted in his opinions. He was one of those unhappy compounds of weakness and inflexibility, which is not very uncommonly met with in the ordinary crowd: obstinate to brave dangers and incur evils, while they are distant and might be averted by prudence, from an incapacity to apprehend those indications by which wiser minds are warned; and destitute of the moral firmness to face or the steadiness and prudence to resist them when their presence awakens the virtue and wisdom of other men. Wavering, and perverse, he committed every error to which the emergencies of his short and hapless reign exposed him—giving offence in succession to every party, and keeping alive the fears of all. It is not our object to trace the steps of his progress in this prefatory essay. The fears of the protestants excited a spirit of resistance in England, and every class appealed with an anxious eye to William, prince of Orange, who was married to the princess Mary, the heiress presumptive to the English throne. Matters might indeed have remained in this position until the ordinary course of succession might have called William to take the helm in a more dangerous and difficult crisis, when the growing discontents and fears of the country must have accumulated to a frightful amount, and led to some different result, not now to be precisely computed. But it was providentially ordered otherwise; the birth of a male heir to the British crown decided the conduct of William. Hitherto, though his sense of compassion for the

people and duty to a great cause had strongly inclined him to step in to save a kingdom, over which he hoped to rule in the course of a few years; yet the same reason also had some influence in deterring him from any act which might be interpreted into a hostile movement, while such might be the means of impeding, or in some way embarrassing his pretensions: for these being merely in right of his princess, might easily become unpopular. The birth of a son to James decided his course; there was no longer any clinging of self-interest to silence the appeal of the English people to the great leader of the protestant cause in Europe. He landed in England, and the feeble James was deserted at once by all; the army declared against him; his nearest friends in discharging the last offices of kindness seemed to consider him as deposed; the sense of the nation expressed itself unanimously. He abdicated his throne and fled.

This crisis demanded the entire strength of no feeble hand: the succession of an infant would have necessarily committed the state to the distraction, intrigue, and strife of parties: and both the aristocracy and commons, as well as the great leader who was now called deliverer by all England, saw that there was but one course to be adopted. William ascended the vacant throne at the call of the people: and thus a great revolution, which may be said to have commenced with the accession of the Stuarts, was completed with their deprivation.

In Ireland the numerical relation of parties was different. And the passions and prejudices of men were more alive; a long continuation of those causes of civil disunion, most likely to foster the worst passions, had operated to effect the complete separation of the two great parties which composed the people. The elements of contention were separately concentrated—a state inconsistent with national tranquillity. These hapless conditions we have already shown to have been in some measure the inevitable result of circumstances and political necessity, a principle hitherto insufficiently allowed for in Irish history; so that we cannot avoid preserving its application in every stage as we advance. Cordially concurring in the great principle of toleration, and in deprecating all political disability on the mere *ground of religious opinion*, we feel compelled to repeat, that the civil disabilities, at that period imposed upon the members of the church of Rome, were not without reasonable grounds in political justice. We do not mean to affirm what course a more long-sighted view of expediency might have adopted; the events of human policy are far beyond human wisdom to calculate with any certainty; we only speak of justice, of which the first principle is the right of self-preservation, as essential to a state as to an individual. During the reigns of Elizabeth, James, Charles, or his successors, it was not any question as to the doctrinal views or the discipline of churches that excited the hostility of opposing sects; these questions, it is true, arose and were kept alive and imbibed by other considerations; but these were purely political. At that time the secular ascendancy of the court of Rome had not been reduced to a shadow in Europe—the nations of which were yet but recently and doubtfully struggling free from ecclesiastical despotism. In Ireland this power was at the time making its last stand; and maintained a preponderating influence, which was (apparently at

least,) incompatible with the civil constitution then in its growth. The country was filled with ecclesiastical agents, who were either foreign or educated in Spain and Italy, and by no tacit or concealed influence endeavouring to establish the supremacy of a power, *then understood* to be formidable in its claims to political interference, and vested with powers to assert and maintain those claims. Such were the real grounds for the maintenance of that protestant ascendancy, of which we are not desirous to say more than our immediate purpose demands. We shall only here add, that these remarks are quite independent of the consideration of the manifold wrongs and prejudices with which all coercive policy is sure to be accompanied. The ascendancy of a party, however it may be required by just policy, must ever have an operation distinct from that policy. Irish parties were, at the period of which we speak, little to be commended for the justice or wisdom of their views; and, looking to the crowd, were actuated by no high or disinterested love of their altars, principles, or civil rights: they were little better than the factions at an Irish fair. It is indeed to be regretted, that the liberalism of modern history too often suppresses the essential principles of political justice, for the satisfaction of a great popular party, which needs no such ridiculous flattery.

The grounds of apprehension here noticed, were nevertheless both distinctly intelligible to all the more informed and leading minds of the day, but they were also accompanied by circumstances adapted to give increased alarm. One class of indications had become familiar; they who had witnessed the incidents which had immediately prepared the way for the insurrection of 1641, had been taught to look with an apprehensive eye upon the movements of the popular party, and to understand the strenuous and simultaneous efforts which that party and its abettors in official station were making to obtain possession of all the posts of civil or military strength: when two distinct and powerful parties contend for power, the obvious preliminary to any effective demonstration of force, and therefore peculiarly to be sought in the history of Irish parties. The measures of James in Ireland for the depression of the protestant party, had been more decided than could have been ventured in England; Tyrconnel had changed the composition of the army, by gradually dismissing the protestant officers and soldiers, and replacing them from the adverse party; Clarendon attempted the same change in the bench and council; the university was roughly invaded; and the corporations were attempted to be thrown open. Such were, in brief, the grounds of alarm to the protestant party, of whom the crowd considered their rights invaded; while the better part, looking more justly on these proceedings, saw that their liberty and property were endangered. The act of settlement had received the confirmation of time, and a revolution of property was only to be effected by new injustice, and the repetition of atrocities hitherto secular in the periodical oscillations of Irish faction.

These causes of discontent and terror reached an alarming height; their effect was increased by vague rumours, as well as by insidious efforts to create alarm. The fearful report of a conspiracy to massacre the protestants of Ireland was circulated, and was rendered terrific by

the fresh recollections of 1641. The protestants took panic, and left the kingdom in crowds.

The deposition of James, and the accession of William and Mary, brought these fermenting disasters to their crisis. James came over and conducted himself with his characteristic incapacity; he was served with exemplary fidelity and spirit in the brief but sanguinary struggle that followed; he was himself the first to desert his cause, which was maintained by his brave adherents to the last shift of desperation. We shall not, among the following lives, omit to sketch with minute fidelity the several incidents of fearful interest, from the siege of Derry to the capitulation of Limerick, and the field of Aughrim.

The revolution was established in Ireland, but under circumstances far from favourable to the civil growth of this unhappy country. The spirit of resistance was subdued, but party animosity survived. To pursue the consequences of this state of things, would demand no inconsiderable addition to a train of reflection already too long.

Commerce.—We have lastly to offer some general notice of the condition and social state of Ireland during the long period between the reigns of Elizabeth and George III. We shall begin by offering some general facts respecting our trade, which we could not conveniently bring together in the narrative portion of this work. We shall, on the subject of trade, confine our notices to some main circumstances, as it is our intention to enter upon it more copiously in the introduction to the succeeding period. The space already devoted to the present essay renders such a distribution convenient, and the more so as it is not our intention to enter upon the discussion of party politics as fully as we have found it essential to do in this introduction. As we approach the memorable events which led to the "Union," we shall endeavour to confine our pen as nearly as may be to the statement of indisputable facts. To enter upon the politics of the period in which we live, would demand the detailed discussion of numerous questions, each of which should be investigated with the most deliberate and scrupulous minuteness, and the most comprehensive scope, or passed in total silence; conditions perhaps inconsistent with historical composition. When we shall in the course of our labour, have arrived to the period of these events, the commercial, literary, and social history of the country, topics which we shall here but notice cursorily, will then offer more useful and less invidious topics of inquiry. And we must observe, that this division is more appropriate than may at first appear: as we advance towards the times in which we live, the relative importance of our great and distinguished men undergoes a change. Whatever importance may be claimed by the several actors on the political stage, they begin to be reduced to their appropriate rank in the scale of honour. In the more advanced progress of society, intellectual eminence will claim its due space, both in our ecclesiastical and literary divisions. Under these circumstances, the leading objects of our narrative are likely to embrace more full and deliberate views, and more detailed statements in those statistical, economical, philosophical, and literary questions and facts than we now think it justifiable to enter upon.

They who read in our uncertain and scanty records, of the great

oppressions and the injudicious regulations by which the trade of Ireland was retarded in its earliest stages, are likely to be deceived by the tone of complaint in which these are represented; not because those complaints are unwarranted, but from not fully taking into account the exceeding ignorance which then prevailed on all that related to the commercial interests of nations. One glance at the contemporary history of English trade, would lead to more temperate deductions. That glance we cannot here afford to take, but we must remind the reader of a few facts. The trade of England was scarcely begun in the reign of James I.; the Dutch possessed the monopoly of every branch of European trade, and, while they produced nothing from their canals and swamps, made the fertility of every land their wealth. The fisheries of England, the spices of the East and West, the iron and timber of the north, loaded their vessels. They were the carriers and the merchants of every nation, and possessed the seas. In England a narrow trade, consisting mainly in the rural produce of a fertile country, of which the natural capacity for commerce was great, was kept down by restrictions, partly originating in ignorance, partly in tyranny—absurd patents and hydra-headed monopolies, which so far from having any object for the promotion of commerce, were simply regarded as a lucrative branch of the prerogative, brought their price into the coffers of spendthrifts and needy parasites, and their profits to a few individuals, while they suppressed the enterprise and industry of the nation. Under such circumstances, it was little to be expected that the English government was to be more just to Ireland, or wiser for her interests. Again, from these simple considerations it may appear, that the commercial interests of the two countries were chiefly confined to their staple produce. This in both countries was mainly the same. From this, jealousies and a real or seeming collision of interests must have been felt; and it was but natural that regulations hurtful to the trade of Ireland, so far as it could be supposed to affect the English market, should have been occasionally devised; the measure may have been erroneous, but cannot on other grounds be fairly complained of. Ireland was not then as now, a part of the one kingdom of Great Britain, but an independent kingdom; and, therefore, quite destitute of any claim to the consideration implied: her claim was on the king alone. But we shall not pursue this plain point.

The practical experience of mankind quickly arrives at the perception of the main impediments to their interests; and both in England and Ireland complaints increased with wealth. The plantation of Ulster gave a rapid impulse to the internal prosperity of Ireland, the customs, produce, and general amount of exportation increased until the rebellion. The gratitude expressed by the people increased as they became acquainted with prosperity, and the taxes and subsidies were paid with contented alacrity. The balance of trade was in their favour, the commons congratulated the king on the flourishing and prosperous state of the kingdom. Manufactures began to increase, and the peasantry had materially advanced towards the comforts of industry and civilization. These interests were favoured by Strafford, whose conduct was otherwise arbitrary. He established the linen trade,

which afterwards became so important to the interests of large districts of Ireland; while he discouraged the woollen trade, which, during the reigns of James and Charles, was the staple of England.

The growing prosperity of Ireland received, from the rebellion of 1641, an interruption from which it never entirely recovered in some of the most important respects; the blow was at the time severely felt in its commercial interests. The Duke of Ormonde, by his sagacity and paternal care, in some measure restored the broken fortunes of his country. A severe law, prohibiting the export of Irish cattle into English ports, was, by the interest of this great and good man, taken off in 1667, with many other severe commercial restrictions, which had been designed for the protection of English trade. At the same time, and by the same interest, there was a prohibition against the importation into Ireland of Scottish linen and other commodities, which might interfere with the manufactures of the country, and draw away its money. The woollen manufacture was originated, and the linen manufacture which had been ruined in 1641, was revived by the care and munificence of this nobleman. Land was brought under cultivation; rents were doubled; towns grew numerous, large, and wealthy; and the country again began to hold up its head, when fresh troubles broke out in the following reign, and drove industry, and the trust on which it mainly rests, from this harassed island. For a season the country was trampled down by war, its periodical disease, and reduced to a state approaching desolation. The vigorous government of king William in some degree repaired the ruin. The rally was brief; and towards the end of this reign, the prohibition against her woollen manufactures again laid Ireland in the dust. From this point we feel compelled to postpone the further consideration of this most important subject.

Religion.—Under this head we might include any notices of which our plan admits, of the several denominations of Christian worship, which can be considered to have had existence in Ireland during the period to which we must here be understood to refer. But it is far from our design to take so wide a scope,—more special as well as more wide and general statements may be referred to the head of our ecclesiastical memoirs. The general state of religion was as low as might well be inferred from the general view of the state of all parties which has here been offered. The struggles of churches are at best little favourable to religion: they are most likely to awaken and maintain those tendencies of human nature, which are at widest variance from the spirit of Christianity, as described in its only real authority. Though it must be admitted as a general principle, that the Christian should be ready to stake life itself for the truth he holds; yet we think that the inference which may too readily be drawn from such a maxim, is by far too much the dictate of the worst parts of our nature: it is easier to fight for truth than to conform. When sects and parties begin to war about their churches, they seldom or ever give themselves much care about the only essential object which could be worth the fighting for: and their spirit is ever, with the uniform certainty of necessary consequence, to be known by its fruits. In these hapless, unenlightened, and turbulent times, there are evidences enough of fanaticism—of political ambition under sacred names—of popular crime and

party animosity—of ruthless oppression and rabid resistance—and, lastly, of most ignorant and unspiritual formalism, substituting the externals of truth for the spirit. But when we look for the religion of the age, we must look to the lives of a few eminent individuals, and finding such; we are to infer that many more were numbered in the spiritual fold, than history has recorded in its register, which more properly appertains to the illustration of human infirmity, than to those unworldly graces which find their more appropriate note in a different record, and according to the estimate of a purer witness.

In looking to the history of the church of England, as established in this country, its condition was in all respects of the lowest—its churches poor and dilapidated—its ministers insufficient either in their appointments or education—and its interests entirely neglected by the same government which made or enforced severe laws against the papal church. Looking to both churches simply with a view to their respective political instrumentalities, the lord-lieutenants of Ireland were not more zealous to disarm the church of Rome of its weapons of popular excitement and foreign connexion, than to suppress any movement of progress in its rival establishment. While the forms and external muniments of its constitution were preserved, its zeal was as carefully overruled by the equal indifference of secular policy. Hence, notwithstanding the numerous intrinsic advantages of its constitution, the progress of this establishment was slower in Ireland than elsewhere. Of these assertions we shall have abundant illustrations when we shall have arrived at our next ecclesiastical division.

Social State.—It is one of the numerous popular prejudices of mankind, that the history of events and civil workings is generally felt to be more important, and a study of more interest than the progress and changes of the moral and intellectual character of society. A small portion of history has been devoted to the consideration, and of this, the general defectiveness is a plain index to the difficulty of the subject. Yet such is the information most essential to the just understanding of history, of which the facts are for the most part neither correctly traced, connected, or even truly stated until the historian has by patient study and meditation realized the past, and brought clearly the mind of the age before his comprehension. If this duty (for such it is) is generally imperative upon the historian, we would more especially recommend it to the historian of Ireland: for here it is most essential to fairness, and has been most neglected. All the recent writers upon our history are examples of this in a very high degree, and the dereliction is the more remarkable on account of the importance of the facts neglected being such, that they could never be passed by from any thing but oversight: thus indeed they are ever stated as facts, but rejected or forgotten in the application. It is from a steady and unremitting contemplation of these general considerations, that we have hitherto ordered all our statements and inferences; and we are therefore the less necessitated to enter here at any length into the full detail of the knowledge, opinions, religion, arts, and social condition of the long period into which we are next to enter. In the details of biography, we shall have ample room for all the remarkable features of the times which are to succeed; nor shall any illustrative incident be wilfully neglected.

There are, however, it must be admitted, topics of which the connexion with the general state of society, is not easily perceivable; and some which the curiosity of research, or the importance as corroborative of facts or opinions, have raised into principal subjects of inquiry. These are generally treated with such fulness and ability, by the antiquarians of the present day, that we have thought it needless to occupy our pages with the voluminous details they would necessarily require.

The period we have before us consists of less than two centuries, but they are centuries of rapidly accelerated change, and have, therefore, the perspective distances of a longer lapse of time. Between the death of queen Elizabeth and the accession of George III., the social advance of Ireland has been more than equal to its progress in the preceding thousand years; a fact too little allowed for. In this rapid succession of changes, it cannot be expected that any sketch of Irish manners, customs, or literature can be generally applied with any pretence to accuracy.

In some respects, nevertheless, the social condition of the country must be viewed as stationary. A period of political change, though modified and hastened by the growth of public mind, must always have the effect of retarding that growth in many of the most important respects. The advance made, was by means of the operations of government in enlarging and strengthening the bonds of civil order; of cultivation and commerce, in improving the condition and enlarging the circle of the middle orders. Under the slow and often interrupted operation of these elements of improvement, there was an increasing diffusion of civilized manners and tastes, and of the light of education. The intercourse with England imparted a small, but continuous stream of the deepening lights of that great nation; and above all, the university of Dublin preserved and scattered wide in every corner of the island some gleams of taste for the *humaniores literæ*. But through the whole time, although we may describe the mind of the people as decidedly upon the advance, one description may serve for the character of its attainments. The minister of the parish, the noble, the lawyer, and generally, all who had received a collegiate education, and had the industry to profit by it, may have possessed individually more or less of the best knowledge of the age: but in any fair general estimate of the social state of Ireland, we should be compelled, to a late period, to omit all consideration of the manners of the higher aristocracy, of the learning of the university, or of men such as primate Usher. The state of general education was low—the knowledge of the middle orders was scanty—the opinions of the period were largely entangled with prejudices. The arts and accomplishments, the literature and history of the mass, were still the remains of Irish antiquity.

It is thus, then, that while our history has advanced, and the elements of our social condition have widely varied, we have, in some respect, a different division to observe in our view of the literature and arts of Ireland, from that which is presented by the changes of social character and civil constitution. We have for this reason reserved to the latest period to which they can be applicable, a few notices of the

peculiar arts and literature of Ireland which have equal relation to the periods we have completed, and that immediately before us.

Manners, Music, Literature.—In proportion as we go back to earlier times, manners become more difficult to ascertain, and more important. They are more important, because they are more directly the results of the moral state and habits of society; the earliest rude conventions of a people are dictated by the necessities of human nature, together with the accidents of circumstance. And this immediate connexion gives them a lively interest to those who study the natural history of man: as it would also, if adequately known, offer the best and truest solution to the most important difficulties attendant on the study of past events and national changes. But the investigation of the manners of a distant age, when not preserved in a surviving and abundant literature, is a task perhaps beyond the reach of the historian. The features of the day are evanescent, and the most characteristic lights and shadows are the first to fade, and the most irrecoverably lost; the sway of superstitions and prejudices, the absolute dominion of merely social conventions and laws of opinion arising from custom and the expediences of the day, as well as from the state of real knowledge: the state of knowledge itself, the effects arising from intercourse, from trade, from law, with the numerous and complex refractions, reflections, interferences, condensations, and separations, consequent on the whole, human reason can but approach by a rough and conjectural approximation: and when its part shall have been thus performed, the result is likely to be little available for the use of the historical student and to be received with little toleration, as too subtle or too dull for the ordinary apprehension or patience of most readers; unless when it can be seized by the rare instinct and moulded by the imagination of the poet, into those miraculous creations which are so true to nature, that they seem less like fictions than reflections of reality; such however, are the triumphs of Shakspeare and Scott. To recall the image of a remote generation is not the novelist's actual aim, and is beyond the ordinary historian's power.

There are, however, a few remarkable exceptions to these remarks. In different countries, transition and progress have been either wholly inert, as in China and parts of India: or comparatively slow, as in Ireland. Here, indeed, the rapid changes of the last forty years, have done the work of many generations: but the retrospect of our generation is not wholly beyond our reach; by looking back so far, it is not unlikely that a tolerably clear view might be attained of the real social state of Ireland, for at least four centuries. The materials for such a view are fortunately not deficient, but the fact will of itself explain the propriety of referring the whole of this investigation to the subsequent period, to which these data belong. The memoirs of the earlier portion of the period, on which we are to enter, will exhibit but occasional gleams of private life or merely personal history; and these will for the most part manifest a state of manners, which now must appear unrefined, although formal, elaborate and not without a certain rude magnificence. It will hereafter be our care to present a lively representation of these, and to trace their connexion with the general state of the times to which they are to be referred. The remainder

of this introduction we shall devote to some special topics, which may be considered to belong to the beginning of the present period, and more or less to the whole of that which precedes it: we mean those arts and that literature which must be considered as peculiar to Ireland. In our next division a more expansive range of literature will claim our attention.

It may at first appear fanciful to affirm that there is no monument of Irish antiquity bearing such authentic marks of national origin, or of the genius and character of the people, as our national music; thus, indeed, so far as its antiquity can be traced, offering an indirect but not less convincing testimony to the general claims of the early inhabitants of the land to refinement. The fact deserves consideration.

Every one who possesses in an ordinary degree, the nearly universal faculty of musical perception, is fully aware that music possesses some properties in common with language; these cannot be doubted, because they are proved by the evidence of experience. They are not, it must be admitted so definable, but this is because they are not so much the result of conventional association: the word conveys an idea, with which no one imagines it to have any but an *arbitrary* connexion, but the music awakens an emotion of which it seems the natural utterance, so closely and inseparably that no ingenuity can detect the connecting link. Ten thousand breasts can be combined by a single state of emotion, one common unutterable sentiment, by a simple air which no ear among the crowd ever heard till the instant that a touch of the musician's hand struck the common and resistless but mysterious chord of human nature. By the same power the utmost variety of emotions are, with unerring accuracy, excited at will; nor does light follow the sun with more constancy, than mirth and melancholy await on the changes of the strain. The same emotions, too, are awakened in the scholar and the illiterate, the courtier and the clown; children catch the inspiration before they learn the more cumbrous communication of words. It is a fact, as commonly known on the same simple testimony of experience, that the ordinary process of association to a considerable extent, modifies the impressions produced by music: and thus it becomes, in another sense, a language, extending its singular, and almost magic power, from the animal to the intellectual nature, incorporating with sweet and measured variations of sound, all that survives in the memory of the affections. Thus, by a chain of fine, but yet perceptible links, is it combined with human character, so that the reasoning observer who looks below the surface of human nature, and watches the phenomena of the mind, may, with not much difficulty, infer the natural connexion between the music and the constitutional temperament of a people. As a nation advances to a high degree of refinement, the national music is, it is true, likely to acquire the improvement of science and artificial combination. And thus, as in manners, national characteristics, and all of human things that are subject to progress and the law of habit, lose somewhat of peculiarity, under the influence of cultivation and refinement—but even still the native and essential difference will for long periods of change maintain

its place, and appear more or less diffused through every successive modification, imparting a tone, style, and shade of sentiment, which, whether explicable or not, remains perfectly sensible to the rudest ear that is cognizant of musical expression. Thus, then, not only the national character of an air is at once known, but the age and period can be at least approximately conjectured within certain limits. A limit can, with considerable certainty, be ascertained between the ancient and the modern, while the essential properties of both remain the same beyond the scope of reasonable doubt.

If these observations shall be allowed to be just, there is, as we have said, no vestige of antiquity more truly interesting, or more decisive of national character than the remains of ancient Irish music. Of its genuineness there is strong and indeed curious evidence in the known fact, that the most eminent composers have often confessed the impossibility of a perfect imitation: in all such attempts, the form of the melody and the technical adoption of the artifice of sound, has failed to catch the spirit and produce the effect, as obviously and palpably as the cleverest rhymers of the modern periodicals would fail to succeed in the versification of Pope, or a modern composer of Greek exercises write the *Iliad*: the fact is stated and admitted by the best musicians. The mind, or rather state and tone of mind, of which all characteristic melody is an emanation, must first be reproduced. And yet, strange to think, this subtle and unattainable grace and power, far as it is beyond the reach of art or even genius to borrow, is the first and simplest perception of the untaught ear; as surely speaking to the breast of the peasant on the hill, as to the highly trained ear of the refined adept who can command and appreciate the luxuries of instrumental skill.

We shall not here dwell on the inductive analogy which confirms these remarks; the same is more or less applicable to the music of every country known to have a native melody. However corrupted or refined by the perversions or improvements of modern skill, it is ever observable and uniformly national in character; and not merely this, but perceptibly indicative of the tastes and habits of sentiment of each respective nation. The Italian with its luxury of sound, and breathing of passion—the French with its tasteful lightness, its graceful romance that breathes and passes like a sigh—the German with its deeper and less transient flow of grand and sombre sentiment—these are at least traceable with sufficient uniformity to illustrate the principle. But in all these instances, long cultivation has produced, to some extent, its equalizing effects. The nationality of poetry or music must much, perhaps chiefly, depend on the aggregate constitution of a people: the musician, like the orator, has before him the consciousness of his audience; without this high faculty, no great popular effect is ever produced. In Ireland, as we trace back to the period of its latest music, there appears a state peculiarly favourable to the full development of the operations of this faculty. Our music was not the high wrought product of refined art, designed to solicit the applause of the mingled circle of fashion and cultivated taste, drawn together from every country in Europe; it was the presiding spirit of the rude and hospitable hall, where the hunter and the warrior chief sat listening

in the circle of his family, guest, and people; rude but fervid, and fraught with all the strong tincture of sentiment to this day as observable in the people of Ireland as in their ancient music.

But there are other considerations much more likely to interest the reader's curiosity. The musical history of Ireland, offers those peculiar indications by which it appears traceable to a very remote antiquity, and even casts no feeble reflection on the question of our race and origin as a people. The earliest known airs of Irish music are wild and simple dirges, such as are generally known to have been the principal music of the most ancient nations of antiquity. The ancient instrument was the harp, peculiar to Ireland, though borrowed by her neighbours the Britons, and descendants the Scottish Celts. The music of ancient Egypt was similarly appropriated to the solemn rites of funerals and religious ceremonies, and its chief instrument is known to have been the harp.* Similarly it is known on the most authentic authority, that the harp was a principal instrument of the Israelites, and that their music was unquestionably devotional and ritual in its main uses. The Phœnician descent of Irish civilization and language, to affirm no more, suggests the obvious link that connects the ancient music of Ireland *so far as its origin* is concerned, with the most ancient music known to have existed. These remarks might lead to further conclusions, were we not desirous to avoid even the appearance of refining, and therefore think it here necessary to go no further than the common feeling of our readers may confirm. We shall only, therefore, before quitting the subject, notice such recent facts as may tend to illustrate this department of our history.

It is now several years since the labours of Mr Bunting collected and gave a permanent form to a considerable portion of the remains of our ancient music. These labours, or their invaluable results, do not appear to have ever been appreciated according to their worth by the public. Public opinion, never just, but as it reflects the tone of its critical guides and authorities, was in this instance splendidly decided by a brilliant combination of lyrical genius and musical skill in the well-known Irish melodies, the joint labour of Mr Moore and Sir John Stevenson. It is surely no wish of ours to depreciate a work in itself so rich an acquisition to society, and so honourable to Ireland—we for our part would not wish it other than it is; but we speak of it as related to our music. While the magic of Mr Moore's beautiful lyrics gave this work a circulation and a permanency of reputation which music by itself could not attain, it is as little to be doubted, that it had the effect of setting aside the native music which it pretended to represent. Nor are we less decided in the assertion, that the service of having given fashionable vogue to many of our sweetest airs, is unhappily countervailed by alterations which have refined away their native spirit and deprived them of their essential mind: for this Mr Moore is not responsible. Of his portion of the task it does not belong to us to say any thing here, and as our labours are confined to the departed, we trust to close our work many years before attaining so undesirable a privilege. But the occasion of Mr Bunting's meritorious labours should

* Mr Wilkinson's researches seem to have put these facts beyond doubt.

not be here unnoticed. Strong enthusiasm of character, and much national feeling seem to have been combined in this gentleman with musical talent of a very high order, and to have devoted him at an early period of his life to the study and preservation of that native music, which had long been silent in the chieftain's hall, and was passing away from memory with a few aged men, the survivors of the harp and song of ancient days. In the close of the last century this venerable order was nearly extinct; but a few aged and venerable harpers still continued to bend their infirm steps from home to home, among the children of those who saw their brethren of the tuneful craft, and knew them in their better days. They were but few and old, with them the music of Ireland must to a great extent have perished. Of this there seems to have been a strong sense excited at the time, and meetings of the harpers, and of those who felt interest in their art, took place in different towns—of which the best known and most effective was held in Belfast in 1792. At this many of the old minstrels attended, and astonished their hearers by the display of their skill and affluence in the ancient music of the country. Among the crowds drawn from all quarters by the interest of such a meeting, Mr Bunting could not have been wanting; he has given an interesting and minute account of the principal performers, which we should copy here at length, but that it occurs in the prospectus to an unpublished work, and we hold it to be unfair that the author should be thus anticipated from his own pages. In the paper here noticed, Mr Bunting commemorates Hempson, O'Neill and Fanning, with seven others, "the least of whom," he says in the language of strong feeling, "has not left his like behind." Of Hempson he also observes, that he "realized the picture drawn by Cambrensis, nearly 700 years ago, for he played with long crooked nails, and in his performance 'the tinkling of small notes under the deep notes of the bass' was distinctly audible." He was the only one of them who, says Mr Bunting, played the very old, the aboriginal music of the country. In reading the prospectus* from which these particulars are drawn, we were struck with a pleasing confirmation of a very old recollection of our own, which lay like a remembered dream among the fading images of childish days. Living in the west of Ireland in the termination of the last century, we can indistinctly recall the occasional visits (annual perhaps,) of an old blind harper named Freney, whose music has left the wildest tone, and whose person the most picturesque image on our memory. As we have on a former occasion written all that we could recall of this old man, we shall here content ourselves with an extract of the facts of which we can no further be certain, than that such is our recollection, and that they seem in some degree confirmed by the unquestionable description of Mr Bunting:—"The writer can vividly, though perhaps not with very great accuracy, recall the personal appearance of a very old man named Frene or Freney, who was something more than thirty years since, a welcome visitor in every respectable family, through many of the western counties. Frene could not then have been less than ninety years old. He was about the middle size, but much bent by age, with

* Prospectus lately published by Mr Bunting.

a head of the Homeric cast, and venerably crowned with the whitest hair. His harp, as the writer—then a child—can recollect its appearance, was a dark-framed antique looking instrument, closely strung with thin brass wires, which produced that wild, low, ringing music, which in the following stanzas, is attempted to be expressed by the words ‘fairy chime.’* The effect of this was heightened by the old man’s peculiar expression of intense and sometimes pleased attention to his own music, as he stooped forward, holding his head close to the wires, while he swept them over with a feeble, uncertain, and trembling hand—the too obvious effect of extreme age. His appearance, thus bowed beside the instrument, which (though as the writer is informed, it was a small harp,) towered above his white head—was of the most picturesque character, and might well have served to illustrate the description of his more poetic brother in the ‘Lay.’ But poor old Frene had no rallying power—his harp strings seemed to have caught the wandering, querulous, and feeble dotage of his infirm age, and echoed mournfully of departed power and life. And now it adds much to the interest of this recollection, that he could not have been the welcome guest, which at this time he was, for the sake of his music. He was a venerable ruin of those ‘good old times,’ which their then survivors felt to be passing away with the harper. Old Frene had lived among their grandfathers, and had filled no mean place in the gay doings of those less refined, but more joyous and hospitable periods. He was full of old stories about persons whose names and deeds had still an interest in the memory of their descendants; and these stories were heard with a delight which can now be little understood. They excited that sympathy which is the effect of similar habits and feelings; but the world has long ceased to look with congenial interest on the half barbaric heroism and hospitality of that masculine generation, of which there now remains scarcely a distinct recollection.”† On the state of society here noticed we shall hereafter have an occasion to dwell at length, as it belongs to the end of the last and commencement of the present century.

The further detail of particulars respecting these persons must be reserved till their time comes before us in the progress of this work; we here only notice them on account of the connexion of their history with the antiquity of the harp and music of Ireland. On this latter subject we shall now only add, that Mr Bunting divides our native airs into three classes—“the very ancient, the ancient, and those composed from the time of Carolan to that of Jackson and Stirling; for since the death of the latter composer, the production of new melodies in Ireland has wholly ceased.” Of these he considers the first,

* The article from which this extract is made was written as the preface to an ode on the Minstrel O’Connellan. The effect of the wild, melancholy, low, and ringing notes is not to be conveyed by any language. It seemed to rise like the memory of ancient song. The old man might have resembled one of Ossian’s ghosts, bending from his cloud, and sending forth the feeble echo of departed days. But fairy music was more in the spirit of the time and place: the characteristic effect was a faint and indefinite distance aptly suggesting some such notion to a superstitious imagination.

† Dublin Penny Journal, vol. 1. p. 130.

consisting of *eqoinans* or dirges, to be of extreme antiquity, both on account of the originality and simplicity of their structure, and from the words to which they are sung, which are to be found in manuscripts of ancient date. A strong confirmation is the fact that in several of them "the Ossianic airs have been noted down from persons singing very old fragments of this class of poems, both in Scotland and Ireland," the force of which proof we have already pointed out. The second class are authenticated by the peculiar characters of the remarkable style thus ascertained. And it may perhaps not be too strong to affirm, that there is traceable a kind of chronology in the progressive transition of styles which all bear the same original and inimitable character.

When we pass from the music of the period to its poetry, the subject, though more within our legitimate province, offers far less to delay our pen; not that the remains of Irish poetry are less abundant, but that they are far less accessible to all but the Irish antiquarian. From the poetry of the Irish character it might naturally be inferred that, much beautiful verse, and many splendid names should have survived the oblivion which has rolled like the waves of that lake which is said to cover "the round towers of other days." Unhappily, however rich may be the repositories of our ancient literature, the strain has left no echo on the shore, we cannot take to ourselves the beautiful creed of the last minstrel:—

"Call it not vain: they do not err
Who say, that when the poet dies,
Mute nature mourns her worshipper,
And celebrates his obsequies:
Who say, tall cliff, and cavern lone,
For the departed bard make moan,
That mountains weep in crystal rill,
That flowers in tears of balm distil,
Through his loved groves that breezes sigh,
And oaks in deeper groan reply,
And rivers teach their rushing wave
To murmur dirges round his grave."

But though it is grievously to be apprehended that the rushing waves of the Shannon, although melodious to a proverb, retain no memory and repeat no tuneful dirge, yet we are not the less persuaded that bards worthy to be thus lamented have wooed the echoes of that oblivious and ungrateful river; unless indeed it may with too much truth be urged in extenuation, that it has been too much engaged in bewailing the present, to have any of its dirges to spare for departed bards and heroes. And this, though perhaps too lightly spoken, is the truth. The state of the island, from the beginning of the Danish dominion to the long and gloomy period of the decline of the English pale, was in the highest degree unfavourable to literature; less so, indeed, to the production of the rude annals and poems of which abundant specimens remain from this period, than for the study or preservation of a better and earlier literature. The transfer of moveable property was too frequent and forceable, its destruction too general and its insecurity too great, for the collection and accumulation of such treasures: they who knew not

their value would destroy, and they who did would remove them. They were carried to foreign countries, scattered, and in the course of numerous changes of hands gradually destroyed and wasted. Yet the remains, which are to be yet found in libraries, as well as in the possession of collectors, plainly testify an abundant and overflowing literature, such as it was. Of this literature, however, we can say little critically.

The earlier poetry, we can only judge of from a few specimens. If we look to the attempts which have been made at translation, the inference would be highly unfavourable to the genius of our poets; but such a judgment would hardly be fair; none but a poet can translate poetry, unless where it happens to be undeserving of a translation. If we judge from prose versions, and especially from those compilations of Macpherson's, which though unquestionably spurious as compositions, are yet in their materials and texture, not unfair representations of the ancient Irish and Gaelic poets, from which they are collected and woven together; the inference must be different indeed, as they indicate powers of a high order, and represent the poetical material and circumstance of a rude and primitive state of society. For this reason, we may in passing observe, we are inclined to adopt them as a standard representation, though we reject them as genuine poems, on the grounds already mentioned. Such specimens, however, as we have otherwise been enabled to form any opinion of, from more unquestionable specimens, are, it is to be allowed, widely different in spirit. Comparatively devoid of all play of fancy, or picturing of imagination, they exhibit a feature still more characteristic of ancient poetry; the simple and emphatic statement of the ordinary incidents in lives and histories of kings, chiefs, and great men; their births, relationships, friendships, and enmities, and trivial as well as great actions; and all with a degree of circumstance and solemnity that strongly mark the rudeness of their time, and the absence of the more refined or complex relations of thought or incidents of society. In fact, the poets are little more than a less methodical and select class of annalists—until a comparatively recent stage of this period, when the poetry of Christianity, the enlarged scope of incident, and the growth of national and party feeling, appear to have much increased the range of topics. We say topics, because our knowledge is more derived from the titles of these productions than from actual inspection. And it is fit here to add, that we have formed the opinion here stated, upon an attentive perusal of O'Reilly's compilation of names, to each of which he adds the catalogue of the writer's works.

The most important view of the remains of our Irish poets, is that which must class them as historians. In the more important office of history, they are, in reality, far the most valuable remains of antiquity. They present a full and faithful view of its life, form, and colouring—the main object of history. The meagre and chronological statement of the annalist may, for many obvious reasons deceive; the point to be recorded is but a fact; but the impression of the writer himself, whether precisely true or not, is also a fact, and generally the more important with reference to the antiquity of a rude simple age; in these writers we may discern the general state of fact and the consent

of representation. The principle of this is simple. It cannot without manifest absurdity be assumed, that all the writers of any place and time, should concur in the representation of a wholly imaginary class of phenomena and state of society, and entirely omit all notice of the real and actual circumstances, with which extant tradition, as well as surrounding life supplied them.

We must therefore class our poetical and historical remains together, and offer the few further reflections we shall here add, on their evidence and character so viewed. There can be no doubt that of the multitude of manuscripts extant in the various collections, the most useful and interesting are those of poetical records. Of these, the most valuable receive some additional degree of authenticity, from forming part of authoritative collections called *books*, which with other documentary manuscripts, such as Psalters, Registries, Annals compiled from ancient manuscripts, &c., form the bulk of our native literary remains of the present and former periods. Of these, the principal are as follows. The books of Ballimote, Drum Sneacta, Clonmacnoise, Conquests, Glendalough, Howth, Invasions, Leccan, MacEggan, Munster Book of Rights, &c.; the Annals of Donegal, Dublin, Inisfail, and Ulster; the Registries of Cloyne, Leighlin, Limerick, Lismore; the Psalters of Tara, Cashel, and Psalter na Rana,* with many others of less importance which are named in different enumerations by antiquarian writers. Of these we shall notice a few which have been considered more important, or to which modern research has added importance.

Of the writings here enumerated, the first in popular interest, are the compilations called the *Annals of Dublin*, and the *Annals of Ulster*, as being placed within the reach of the public, by means of accurate versions from the original Irish of the compilers to be found in the first volume of the *Dublin Penny Journal*. These translations are from the pen of Mr John O'Donovan, an Irish scholar of rising reputation, and have been found of the greatest use in the earlier portion of this work. The original documents, from which Mr O'Donovan has made his translation, are in the possession of the Royal Irish Academy, to which eminent body it was presented by Mr Petrie, whose liberality and public spirit are not more conspicuously marked in so valuable a gift, than his sagacity and antiquarian knowledge, in the manner in which he obtained the manuscript, and established the fact of its genuineness. The history of this book has great interest. It was in the beginning of the seventeenth century, that Ferral O'Gara, the descendant of the ancient chiefs of Coolavin, in the county of Sligo, perhaps at the suggestion of the person whose pen he employed for the purpose, engaged Michael O'Clery, a brother of the Franciscan order, to collect the remains of the ancient Irish history, and reduce them to orderly compilation. O'Clery had been for ten years previously employed, by his own order, in the collection of materials for a history of Irish saints, and had in all probability, while engaged in that labour, discovered materials for a more enlarged and important work; and having framed his plan, waited on O'Gara to seek his patronage. O'Gara was the representative of the county of Sligo, in

* Nicholson.

parliament, and was most probably a man of cultivated mind, and duly accessible to the suggestions of national as well as family pride; in the addresses of brother O'Clery, there is at least a strong appeal to these sentiments. As these conjectures are drawn from O'Clery's dedication, which gives a clear and succinct account of the design of his undertaking, we extract a few sentences of this document from O'Connor's translation.* "I, Michael O'Clery, brother of the order of St Francis, (through ten years employed, under obedience to my several provincials, in collecting materials for our Irish Hagiology,) have waited on you, noble Ferral O'Gara, as I was well acquainted with your zeal for the glory of God, and the credit of your country. I perceived the anxiety you suffer from the cloud which at present hangs over our ancient Milesian race; a state of things which has occasioned the ignorance of many relative to the lives of the holy men, who, in former times, have been the ornament of our island; the general ignorance also of our civil history, and of the monarchs, provincial kings, tigherns (lords), and toisachs (chieftains), who flourished in this country through a succession of ages; with equal want of knowledge on the synchronism necessary for throwing light on the transactions of each. In your uneasiness on this subject, I have informed you, that I entertained hopes of joining to my own labours, the assistance of the antiquarians I held most in esteem, for compiling a body of annals wherein these matters should be digested under their proper heads; judging that, should such a compilation be neglected, at present, or consigned to a future time, a risk might be run that the materials for it should never again be brought together." Such is the compiler's own account, from which not only the nature of the undertaking is fully explained, but no indistinct view given of the condition of literature, during the period then elapsed: the ruin of ancient collections, and the scantiness of documentary remains; the ignorance of the community, and the zeal of a few. In consequence of the engagement thus entered upon, O'Clery joined to himself three others, Maurice and Fergus O'Maelconary, both antiquaries of the county of Roscommon; two other O'Clerys of Donegal, and O'Duigenan from Leitrim. These antiquaries assembled in the Franciscan convent of Donegal, where they were sustained during the accomplishment of their arduous work. The *testimonium* attached to their compilation and subscribed by the guardian of the convent, and another monk, enumerates the ancient authorities from which they drew their material. "The old books they collected were, the Annals of Clonmacnoise, an abbey founded by holy Kiaran, son of the carpenter; the annals of the Island of Saints, on the lake of Rive; the annals of Senat M'Muguns on the lake of Erne (now called the Ulster Annals); the annals of the O'Maelconarys; the annals of Kilronan compiled by the O'Duigenans;" to these they added the Annals of Lecan, compiled by the MacFirbises. These books, the witnesses testify having seen in their possession, during the portions of the transcription, for which they were severally used. This account derives much additional interest, from the consideration noticed by Mr Petrie, that it was on

* See Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy, vol. xvi., for the whole of this interesting letter in Mr Petrie's account, from which the above is wholly drawn.

the eve of a rebellion, which caused afflictions unparalleled in history. "In that unhappy period," writes Mr Petrie, "nearly all the original materials of this compilation probably perished, for one or two of them only have survived to our times." Of this inestimable MS. the original copies passed from the O'Gara family into the possession of other persons, the first vol. to Charles O'Connor, and the second to colonel Conyngham; from these, different transcripts appear to have been made, both by the compilers for their own use, and for the chevalier O'Gorman, who borrowed the originals for this purpose. From the testimonies brought together by Mr Petrie, it would appear that the whole work was presented by colonel O'Gara, in 1734, to Charles O'Connor, the elder, who seems to have transferred the second volume to his cousin-german, colonel Conyngham. It was long supposed that no complete copy of the second volume was extant. Nor does it appear to have been distinctly known, which of the different manuscripts were the originals. At length the second volume in a perfect state, was purchased by Mr Petrie at the sale of the books of Mr Austin Cooper, to whom colonel Conyngham's library had passed: and the question of originality was completely set at rest, by the clearest and most demonstrative statement, in an able and perspicuous essay, read before the Academy for that purpose, and inserted in the sixteenth volume of its transactions. Into this question we cannot here enter in detail. Two arguments seem to decide the point: the first drawn from the inspection of the documents, and their comparison with the other pretended original; in this the main points are, the characteristic variations of the hand-writing in accordance with the account given in the testimonium of the witnesses: and also the accompanying papers of extracts and memoranda, such as could have no other origin or use, than the convenience of a task of compilation: while on the contrary, the other manuscripts are written throughout in one continuous hand, which should be sufficient of itself to decide the question. The second argument consists in the clear authentication of the history of the transmission of the MS.

Of the Psalter of Tara, we are informed by O'Flaherty, that it was a compilation made in the college of Tara, under the authority of king Cormac, and contained the ancient archives of the country, the series of its kings, supreme and provincial, and showed the synchronism of events with the reigns of foreign princes; it also contained an account of the tributes and taxes imposed on the provincial kings, and fixed territorial confines, the frontiers of kingdoms, as well as the lesser subdivisions of chiefs and townships. Some antiquarians have referred the origin of this document to a much earlier period; and if the document should be really extant, we should have little doubt in admitting, that substantially it must be in a great measure composed of pre-existing documents. At the early part of last century, its existence was a matter of dispute, and it was only known by the references and extracts of other writers. The same doubts still exist, and in this age of search have acquired added weight. Mr Petrie sums the evidence with his ordinary perspicuity;* "no allusion to it," he observes, "has

* In a valuable, learned, and most laborious work, "On the Antiquities of Tara Hill," printed in the Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy, vol. xviii.

been found in the works of any author, anterior to the eleventh century:" to this he adds the important objection, that no ostensible extract from it occurs in the "great compilations of Glendalough, Ballymote, Lecan, and Hy-Many." The references of the Four Masters, he adds, have not been verified, by the references to the authorities they have adduced. There seems a probability, that an extract given by Mr Petrie, from a poem of Cuan O'Lochain, is the authority from which O'Flaherty derived his account as given above.

Of this we give a short extract; the whole will be found in the essay here referred to:—

" Cormac gained fifty battles;
He compiled the Psalter of Temur;
In this Psalter is
What is a good summary of history.
It is this Psalter that gives
Seven monarchs of Erin of harbours;
Five kings of the provinces it makes,
The king of Erin and her toparchs;
In it are (entered) reciprocally
What each king of a province is entitled to,
What the king of Temur in the east is entitled to
From the king of each harmonious province.
The chronology and synchronism of all
Of each king with each other, completely
The boundaries of each province from the hill,
From the *Triagid* to the heavy (large) Maith."
 &c. &c. &c.

Of these lines the statements of O'Flaherty, already cited, is but a version. Now, in addition to the observations made in Mr Petrie's essay, there seems to us to be a very strong ground of doubt, arising from the mere consideration of the high degree of probability that the existence of such a document would be assumed. The antiquaries of earlier times were an enthusiastic and credulous class of mortals; and for such an assumption, there were unquestionably strong grounds in Irish tradition. This method of inference which seems to neutralize itself, and weigh in either scale, will on reflection appear to be very strong against a doubtful *authority* for the *actual existence* of such a book; as it answers the question, on what ground can we imagine such authorities to have been gratuitous? The high probability that such a book did *actually* exist at some early period, must be tried on other grounds, and is a different question. The objection arising from the "general belief of the learned, that the Irish were wholly unacquainted with letters, until the establishment of Christianity in the fifth century," is a belief which we trust the learned will abandon, as the ancient history of Ireland is more generally known.

The notice which we have been here taking of the Psalter of Tara, has led us to turn over the pages of Mr Petrie's essay on the history and antiquities of Tara Hill. An essay from which much valuable information may be received on almost every subject of any importance connected with the antiquities of Ireland. And which we feel ourselves bound to recommend as a model of the most patient, intelligent, laborious, and practical investigation, which we ever recollect to have

met with, among our numerous and learned antiquarians. This singular instance of combined observation and study, falls within the course of these notices, as being connected with an important specimen of Irish literature, used upon the occasion here referred to, by Mr Petrie, and the gentlemen who assisted in the observations of which the essay here noticed gives the account.

The progress of the Ordnance Survey of Ireland, a work more truly beneficial to Ireland than centuries of experimental legislation, leading, as it has done, to an authentic investigation of the most detailed character into all the circumstances of its moral and physical condition, seems also to have been the means of enabling the antiquarian and the historian to extend his inquiries from the questionable record of old manuscripts to the evidences of locality. However deceptive and illusory either of these *singly* have been shown to be, by the vast range of conflicting theories and conjectures, there seems to be little doubt of the value of the comparison by which these two sources of authority might be made to check and illustrate each other. Whatever variety of interpretation the shallow ingenuity commonly bestowed on such investigations might waste on the monumental fragments of time immemorial; or whatever doubt the most candid scepticism might entertain upon the fretted scroll of contested antiquity; there can be no doubt whatever of the value of the inferences arising upon the undesigned coincidence of these two distinct evidences. Such is the nature of these remarkable investigations, conducted by the joint sagacity and intelligence of several members of the survey, and applied to these historical purposes by Mr Petrie, who himself assisted in the operation. The facts are as follows:—The progress of the survey of the county of Meath, appearing to favour such an investigation as we have mentioned, of the ruins of the hill of Tara; the first necessary step was to have the plan of the existing remains accurately laid down, “according to measurement, on the map.” Accordingly this important preliminary was effected, under the direction of Captain Bordes. In the mean time a careful search was made among the different collections for all such ancient MSS. as might give the most trustworthy information on the history and localities of the spot. The desired information was found in a very ancient MS., called the “Din seanchus,” a topographical tract, found in the books of Ballinote and Lecan, ancient collections of great authority, of which valuable copies are preserved in the Royal Irish Academy. To avail themselves the more readily of this authoritative tract, the gentlemen engaged in this undertaking called in the aid of Mr John O’Donovan, so frequently mentioned in this work, who made precise translations for their purpose, of such of the documents from this collection as were considered necessary. Thus prepared Mr Petrie, with Lieutenant Larcom, one of the most intelligent officers employed upon the survey, Captain Bordes the conductor of the Meath survey, and Mr O’Donovan, proceeded to the hill of Tara, where they went through a most minute and searching verification of the ample details of the poem of Con O’Lochain, and other literary remains of local history. Of the particulars of this operation, this is not the place to offer any detail. But it must be observed, that for precision of method, patient research, a

philosophical abstinence from theory, and every possible precaution against the illusions common to such inquiries, the conduct of these gentlemen might well be offered as the most signal and praiseworthy example. The results are indeed no less remarkable; as it may be safely said, that the curious exactness of coincidence between these ancient vestiges and the documents employed, amounts to a very full and striking confirmation of their authority as topographical guides, and a vast accession of probability to the historical records and traditions of our ancient history. Mr Petrie has fully availed himself of these advantages, in a document which will, we trust, be placed in the hands of the public, as it forms part of a memoir drawn up to illustrate the Ordnance Map of the country. It is our appropriate task to observe, that the result of this inquiry confers additional value on the books thus employed—the books of Ballinote and Lecan, the books of Glendalough, and the Speckled book of M'Eggan, among the collections of which, valuable information was thus found; while the particulars thus verified may be extended as the tests of numerous other documents yet inadequately explored.

With these select notices of our ancient literature we shall for the present content ourselves. Many of the most important compilations were made in a period yet to come in the order of this work, and the notice of the compiler will afford the fittest occasion for all details on his work: the double claim of being the composition of one period and compilation of another, seems to give a choice to the discretion of the historian. Our present object, to exhibit a view of the general condition of our ancient literary remains, and of the materials of history, has perhaps been sufficiently consulted. These ancient records have been the object of much unreasonable doubt; for whatever justice there may be in the common cant about credulity, the contrary extreme is by far the more vulgar impulse. There is a distinction on this point which is not allowed for; superstition is credulous, for the simple reason, that in the peculiar class of ideas with which it is conversant, the true and false are equally beyond the scope of sense, and thus the mode of belief exercised on the objects of revealed religion, can be perverted to every spiritual abuse: the true principle tacitly established, is extended without question. But with reference to the phenomena and facts of the world of sense, there is a different rule of faith; the *principle* of assent is wholly different: the familiar state of things seems to be the order of nature to the shallow or the ignorant; and most persons feel more or less difficulty in conceiving the possibility of a state of national existence, and a class of social phenomena wholly and characteristically different from that which is *habitual*. They will not deny *theoretically* that such things may have been; the scepticism shows itself in an excessive reluctance to receive the specific statement. In examining the records of history, the most scrupulous and rigid precision is required in exacting all the evidence admitted by the nature of the case specially to be considered. But an enlarged and liberal view of this duty is necessary to counteract the narrow-headedness (if the word may be admitted) so characteristic of the sceptic, who is commonly misled from not understanding the true limits of proof and doubt, and from reasoning without any true comprehension of the

question at issue. On the authority of the records generally noticed above, it is indeed a valuable confirmation, that they concur with the local remains and the traditions of the country: a species of confirmation which we do not recollect to have yet seen treated as it deserves. We cannot consent to enter here on a hasty view of so curious and interesting a topic.

Conclusion.—But we must hasten to the conclusion of these introductory remarks. We have here endeavoured to present within narrow limits some general idea of the state of Irish literature during the earlier portion of this period. It was indeed a time when concerns far different from the cultivation of the arts of peace, held the mind of Ireland. The poet's or the harper's hands were otherwise engaged than in the bower of pleasure. In England, poetry had reached its proud height—manners were refined—learning was assiduously and successfully advancing—the triumphs of science were preparing. Though shrouded in the sanguinary clouds of perpetual war, Ireland had too many points of connexion with her elder sister, not to receive a considerable influx of the same bright lights. Her nobles and chief gentry were in close and continual intercourse with the nobility and court of England, and their manners and modes of life were regulated by the same standard. So that, upon the whole, there was a continual advance. If the early part of the seventeenth century was grossly ignorant, the middle of the same century was adorned by a Boyle, and its termination by the pen of Swift.

I. POLITICAL SERIES.

Sir George Carew.

BORN A. D. 1557.—DIED A. D. 1629.

OF the personal history of this great man little can be satisfactorily ascertained; the main events of his life belong to history, and have been already detailed under several heads.

His family was early settled in Ireland. On the death of Robert Fitz-Stephen, the kingdom of Cork descended by marriage to the Carews and De Courcys.* The Carews were ennobled, and handed down their possessions with the dignity of marquis of Cork till the time of the wars of the Roses in England, when they appear to have abandoned their Irish possessions, which were soon usurped by the surrounding chiefs, with some inconsiderable exceptions. They built the castles of Ardtullagh, Dunkeran, and Dunemarc; the last of which we find in the possession of Sir George Carew, while he commanded the queen's army as president of Munster. Sir George was the son of George Carew, dean of Christ's church, Oxford: he was born in 1557, and entered a gentleman commoner in Broadgate's Hall in Oxford university, in 1572. His first military services were in Ireland, where he

* Cox.

was early promoted, and became one of the council, and master of the ordnance. In common with most of the eminent military characters of his day, he served with distinguished honour on the continent, and gained especial notice in the expedition against Cadiz: his conduct of the wars in Munster have been fully detailed—the campaign against the last of the southern Geraldines, with its conduct and success have already been detailed, as also his important assistance to lord Mountjoy in the wars against Hugh, earl of Tyrone, and finally, his masterly campaign which closed that rebellion with the siege of Dunboy. These the reader has or may have read in the lives of Hugh, earl of Tyrone, and O'Sullivan More.*

After these memorable achievements Sir George Carew returned to England, where in the first year of king James, he was appointed to the government of Guernsey, and two years after, raised to the peerage by the title of baron Carew of Clopton, near Stratford-upon-Avon in Warwickshire. He was next preferred to the high post of master of the ordnance in England, and appointed one of the privy council. He was afterwards created earl of Devonshire by Charles I.† His subsequent life was chiefly employed in writing the history of those events of which, in the earlier period, he had been the witness or principal actor. Among these writings, the most important and the best known is the "*Pacata Hibernia*," which gives the most full and minute detail of the Munster and Ulster wars above mentioned. To this work we have been chiefly indebted for our details of these transactions. It is mentioned by bishop Nicholson, that he wrote other works on the affairs of Ireland, "whereof forty-two volumes are in the archbishop of Canterbury's library at Lambeth, and four volumes more of collections, from the originals in the Cotton library."‡

These, with several other MS. volumes, all of which were read through and noted by archbishop Usher, exhibit in a very strong and interesting point of view, the intellectual activity and untiring energy and industry of this extraordinary man. A folio edition of the *Pacata Hibernia*, published in 1633, contained his picture, under which these lines were written:—

"Talis erat vultu, sed lingua, mente manique
Qualis erat, qui vult dicere, scripta legat
Consulat aut famam, qui lingua, mente, manique
Vincere hunc, fama judice, rarus erat."

Sir George Carew died in 1629, "in the Savoy,"§ and left no heir male. His only daughter married Sir Allen Apsley.||

Sir Arthur Chichester.

DIED A. D. 1624.

THE name and lineage of Chichester has been traced by the heralds to an ancient family in Devonshire.

* Pp. 94, 155.

§ Nicholson.

† Nicholson's Irish Hist. Library.

‡ Walpole's Letters. Note, vol. I. p. 157

† Page 53.

The subject of this memoir was the second son of Sir John Chichester, knight: his mother was Gertrude, daughter of Sir William Courtney of Powderham castle, in Devonshire: he was born at Raleigh, his father's seat in that county. A precocious promise of talent was probably the occasion of his being at an early age sent to pursue his studies at the university. But there was an activity in his temperament which soon rendered him impatient of a studious life. A daring frolic, more suited to the manners of his time than the present, made it necessary for him to fly the country. The queen's purveyors, instruments of despotic power, and by no means limiting their exactions to the demands of law, were the objects of popular hatred, and considered (like the bailiffs of the last generation) as fair game for either mischief or spite: they were universally set down as robbers, and it was thought by the young student to be no bad joke to follow the precedent of prince Henry, and ease the robber of his plunder. This exploit was followed by discovery, and Chichester was compelled to save himself from the resentment of the queen, who little relished a joke for which she was to have paid; the unpopularity of the exaction made it dangerous, as the laughter of the public was embittered by discontent; it was no laughing matter to Elizabeth. Chichester betook himself to France, where his personal bravery and military talent recommended him to the favour of Henry IV., by whom he was knighted. His reputation soon reached the English court, where it was not lost upon the ear of the queen. It was her study to encircle her throne with genius and heroism, and Chichester received his pardon.

After some years spent in the military service, he was sent into Ireland, where his services were numerous, and his promotion rapid. He commanded the troops garrisoned at Carrickfergus in 1599, and was, during the entire of that war which we have related in the life of Hugh, earl of Tyrone, among the most active, successful, and trusted leaders under lord Mountjoy. In 1603, he was appointed by patent, governor of Carrickfergus, with the fee of thirteen shillings per day for life. In the next year a new patent extended his powers; he was appointed commander of all the forces and governor of the inhabitants of the surrounding districts, of which the towns, forts, shipping and fisheries were placed at his discretion. This was followed by another patent, appointing him lord-deputy of Ireland. He began his government by renewing the circuits, and establishing two for the first time, as already described, so as to establish justice and order throughout the country. He at the same time issued proclamations declaring the abolition of tanistry, and enforcing the laws. Among the numerous projects for the plantation of Ulster, that of Chichester was selected, and its details carried through by his own skill and activity.

In recompense for these great services to Ireland, king James made him a grant of Inishowen, the territory of Sir Cahir O'Doherty, with other rights and lands in the province of Ulster.

On the meeting of parliament, Sir Arthur was created baron Chichester of Belfast. In the preamble to his patent there occurs a remarkable passage, which we here extract because it evidently contains the idea of James and his councillors concerning this island and its condition:—"Hiberniæ, insulæ post Britanniam omnium insularum

occidentalium maximæ et amplissimæ, et pulcherrimæ, cœli et soli felicitate et sæcunditate affluentis et insignis; sed nihilominus per multa jam secula perpetuis seditionum et rebellionum fluctibus jactatæ; necnon superstitioni et barbaribus moribus, præsertim in provincia Ultoniæ, addictæ et immersæ.”*

We here also insert a letter to Chichester from the king, who, when favouritism did not influence his feeble character, was a just and discriminating observer:—“As at first you were called by our election without seeking for it, to this high place of trust and government of our kingdom of Ireland, and have so faithfully discharged the duties thereof, that without any desire of yours in that behalf, we have thought fit to continue you in that employment these many years, beyond the example and custom of former times; so now we are pleased, merely of our own grace, without any mediation of friends, without your suit or ambition, to advance you to the state of a baron of that kingdom, in acknowledgment of your many acceptable services performed to us there; and that you and all other ministers of state, which serve us wheresoever, may know by this instance of our favour to you, that we observe and discern their merits, and accordingly do value and reward them,” &c.†

Chichester continued in his government for the ten years ending with the parliament of 1613, the cardinal period of Irish history. As the events in which he was a principal actor are those which, from their primary importance, we have selected for the introduction to this period, we may pass on the more briefly to the end of this memoir.

Chichester was a second time appointed lord-deputy in 1614, in which year Lodge mentions that the harp was first marshalled with the arms of England. On this occasion he maintained his wonted activity, by repressing many disorders in the counties of Leinster, especially in those more wild and uncultivated mountain districts of the county of Wicklow, which he reduced to subjection.

In 1615 he obtained the king's permission to retire from his arduous post, but was in the next year appointed lord high treasurer of Ireland. He built a splendid house for his own residence at Carrickfergus.

In 1622, he was sent ambassador to the Palatinate. To enter on the subject of this embassy we should occupy a space disproportionate to the scale of this memoir. The king was entangled by anxious interests of a contrary nature: Spain had seized upon the dominions of his son-in-law, and while he naturally desired to redress this grievance, he was endeavouring to effect a marriage between prince Charles and the Infanta: he relied too much on negotiation, and was well cajoled by all parties. Chichester was next commissioned to treat for a peace with the emperor: in the course of this proceeding he was shut up in Manheim by the besieging army of Tilly. He sent a messenger to Tilly to say that it was contrary to the law of nations to besiege an ambassador: to this Tilly replied, that he took no notice that he was an ambassador; upon which Chichester told the messenger, “If my master had sent me with as many hundred men as he hath sent

* Lodge.

† Quoted by Lodge, from Rot. 10. and 11., Jac. I.

me on fruitless messages, your general should have known that I had been a soldier as well as ambassador."

Chichester returned from the continent in October the same year, and was sworn of the privy council. He died in the year 1624, in London, and was interred in a chapel on the north side of the church of St Nicholas in Carrickfergus, about eight months after his death.

He was married to a daughter of Sir John Perrot, by whom he had one son, who died in little more than a month after his birth. In consequence his estates descended to his next brother, Sir Edward Chichester. As we shall not have to offer any further notices of this person, we may here add, that his brother's title had been limited to his issue male; the title fell, but as Sir Edward was a person of influence and very serviceable, king Charles revived the title and added a step by the title of viscount Chichester of Carrickfergus. His son Arthur, who lived in more stirring times, was distinguished by his valour, prudence, and fidelity to king Charles, in consideration of which he was created earl of Donegal, in 1647.

Sir Caffir O'Doherty.

KILLED A. D. 1608.

THE O'Doherty's were the ancient chiefs of Inishowen, a small but celebrated district in the north of Ireland, lying on the sea-coast between Loughfoyle and Loughswilly; of which two great waters a large proportion has time immemorial been converted by the enterprising industry of the inhabitants into a superior whiskey: if we are not rather to infer a more ethereal source from its well-known appellation of mountain-dew: if so, it is a dew better known to the Irish gauger than to the scientific academies of Europe, the members of which may thank us for the incidental information that it has been thought not conducive to the fertility of those hills, or to the health of their inhabitants. We cannot with certainty discover whether this native produce was known in the days of the O'Dohertys—the meteorology of Ireland is said to have been changed since then. But from Stanihurst's enthusiastic description of Irish whiskey, we lean much to the inference, that the people of that pleasant region must have at all times rejoiced in the same fascinating but ensnaring distillation of their mountain air: where still, as of old,

his fragrant fortress builds
The freeborn wanderer of the mountain air.

When upon the death of his father, the spirited young lord of Inishowen succeeded to the lordship, he had the good sense to see that his interest lay in the cultivation of friendly intercourse with his English neighbours. Being of a festive and hospitable temper, he easily entered into terms of the most cordial intimacy with his military neighbours, the officers of the English forts, with whom he shared the sports of the field and the gaiety of the social board, and lived on terms of fami-

liar and friendly intercourse. Among these companions there was none for whom he professed a more sincere regard than for captain Harte, the commander of the fort of Culmore, near Derry—their intercourse was continual, and such as manifested the most perfect confidence and regard; their wives became friends, and O'Doherty stood godfather to the child of his neighbour, a relation of peculiar closeness in the eyes of the old Irish.

On the flight of Tyrone and O'Donell, Sir Cahir was accused of being privy to the conspiracy of which they had been suspected. Sir Cahir on this attempted to justify himself to the governor of Derry, Sir Amias Paulett: in the heat of accusation and defence the parties grew angry, and O'Doherty was insulted by a blow, and the threat of a felon's death.

Sir Cahir was fired with indignation, for which, indeed, he had ample cause; and considering the spirit of the times, we might easily excuse his having recourse to rebellion, a step which however manifested more spirit than prudence; but the very first step taken by Sir Cahir is far from deserving to be mentioned with the same tolerant allowance, as it was such as to imply a deficiency of every feeling of a gentleman, and indicated a degree of cruelty and treachery, only compatible with the lowest level of the most degraded condition of human nature.

Concealing his sense of insult under the smooth disguise of a reckless manner and the seeming frankness of a warm temperament which concealed the perfidy of his hard and reckless disposition, Sir Cahir meditated a bloody vengeance. Regardless of all considerations which might have embarrassed any one susceptible of human affections, or alive to any sense of just or honourable principle: his project commenced with an outrage upon truth, honour, and humanity, which sets aside every plea of palliation from the ordinary allowances which we are accustomed to make for human frailty. The first step of Sir Cahir's design was to obtain possession of the fort of Culmore commanded by his familiar friend, Harte. The step was sure; for Harte, a blunt and honourable soldier, was unsuspecting by nature, and could not doubt the honour of his friend, still less anticipate any danger from that hospitality which was ever held sacred in the estimation of the Irish. Yet such was the snare resorted to by this reckless betrayer, to lure his confiding friend to destruction. Having made all the necessary preparations to follow up so decided a step, Sir Cahir adopted the safe expedient of inviting his friend Harte with Mrs Harte, to dine with him on the first of May, 1608. Harte was glad to accept the friendly invitation, and, with his wife and child, was punctual to the hour. Dinner came, and went on with unreserved gaiety; it was hardly over when Sir Cahir began to nerve himself for the new part he designed to act: his brow darkened, his manner suddenly grew stern and reserved: and before his guests had time to interpret this embarrassing and unwonted change, the chief started from his seat and beckoned Harte aside. Having withdrawn from the immediate hearing of the company, he told his astonished hearer his purpose of hostility against the English, and demanded the surrender of Culmore on pain of the immediate death of himself, his wife, and child. The English officer refused on any terms to betray his trust;

and, on a signal from Sir Cahir, an armed party poured into the apartment, and received orders for the execution of Harte. Fortunately the noise attracted the attention of the ladies, who had retired on seeing Sir Cahir call his guest aside. An appalling scene presented itself as they entered, the murderers were proceeding to their office: Mrs Harte fainted; Sir Cahir's lady threw herself between the ruffians and their victim, and in the strong language, which women of the better order seldom want when humanity and honour are to be asserted, interceded for the outraged guest, and recalled some sense of shame and remorse to the breast of her traitorous lord. He yielded for a moment to the mastery of a nobler spirit, and interrupted his purpose of murder. But there was nothing either manly or humane in his relenting: he made no reply, but stood meditating added perfidy, until recovering from the abstraction of a moment, he desired his lady to take captain Harte into another room. They had no sooner disappeared than he assailed the feelings of Mrs Harte; he assured her that it was his fixed purpose to put her husband to death if the fort were not instantly surrendered: while she stood before him in a state of agony and despair, he proposed to her to accompany him to Culmore. She consented in her terror. Sir Cahir instantly set off with her, and, having previously made the necessary dispositions for his design, they arrived at the fort. The people within were persuaded that their commander had broken his leg, and that the party without had been sent to carry him home—they threw open the gate. They were surprised by the unexpected rush of Sir Cahir's men, and made no resistance. So that every one was slain.

From this, a sudden assault as little anticipated, put Derry in his power on the same night, and he had the vindictive gratification of slaughtering Paulett in cold blood. The town was consumed to ashes, and the bishop's wife and children carried away prisoners.

Such was the commencement of a rebellion, as rash as its course was brief, and its commencement flagitious. The government was alarmed, and not without reason: the spirits of the seditious were universally excited by the widely spread expectation of O'Nial's return at the head of a body of Spanish and Irish soldiers. The friars were alert in communicating the censures of Salamanca and Valladolid against the affirmation, that it was lawful to be true to a heretical king. The rumour of insurrection went round, and was accompanied by too many circumstances of probability to be considered as mere alarm. The rising of Sir Cahir could scarcely be supposed to depend altogether upon his own unassisted force; his previous conduct had been prudent and artful, and something more than mere resentment must be assumed to have urged him on so daring and decided a course. The government detached a small party, under the command of Sir Richard Wingfield, to observe his motions and keep him in check, while the lord-deputy endeavoured to bring together the scanty and ill-conditioned force, which the poverty and parsimony of king James at this time allowed to be kept up in Ireland. The lord-deputy soon followed, but in no preparation for the emergency. Every part of the country before his approach, had been pouring its fiery elements into the camp of Sir Cahir. Both parties were thus held in equilibrio for

five months, and it is doubtful to what extremity of evil this commencement of rebellion might have reached, if Sir Cahir's life had not been terminated by a shot, which some attribute to accident, and others to private revenge.

The author of *Sketches in Ireland*, tells a story which he appears to have gleaned from the local tradition of the country. It probably contains the truth, though embellished by the graphic pen and characteristic manner of the writer. Having given a picturesque sketch of the Rock of Doune, on which the chiefs of Tyrconnel were inaugurated in the days of old "with savage solemnities, by the abbots of Kilmacrenan;" and described the wild and inaccessible district in the midst of which it stands like a natural fortress; the author whom we quote, mentions that "This rock was famous in the reign of James I., as the spot whereon the arch-traitor, Sir Cahir O'Doherty, closed his life. Sir Cahir, as I before said, had surprised Culmore, taken Derry, murdered Sir George Paulett and the whole garrison, and burnt the town to ashes; he was the last hope of the Pope and the Spaniards. This rebellion was designed to be the most general that ever arose in Ireland, and Sir Cahir keeping the lord lieutenant at bay in this impracticable country; his retreat was the Rock of Kilmacrenan, [the ancient name] and here he lurked in secret until the succours that were promised, and were (as O'Sullivan says) actually coming from all sides, arrived."

"The plantation of Ulster had not yet taken place; but already many Scots had settled themselves along the rich alluvial lands that border the Loughs Foyle and Swilly; and it was Sir Cahir's most desired end and aim to extirpate these intruders, hateful as strangers, detestable as heretics. He was the Scotsman's curse and scourge. One of these industrious Scots had settled in the valley of the Lennon; Rory O'Donnel, the queen's earl of Tyrconnel, had given him part of that fertile valley, and he there built his bawn. But Sir Cahir, in the midst of night, and in Sandy Ramsay's absence, attacked his enclosure, drove off his cattle, slaughtered his wife and children, and left his pleasant homestead a heap of smoking ruins.

"The Seot, on his return home, saw himself bereaved, left desolate in a foreign land, without property, kindred or home; nothing his, but his true gun and dirk. He knew that five hundred marks were the reward offered by the lord-deputy for Sir Cahir's head. He knew that this outlaw was the foe that had quenched the fire on his hearth with the blood of his wife and little ones; and with a heart maddened by revenge, with hope resting on the promised reward, he retired to the wooded hills that run parallel to the Hill of Doune; there, under covert of a rock, his gun resting on the withered branch of a stunted oak, he waited day by day, with all the patience and expectancy of a tiger in its lair. Sir Cahir was a man to be marked in a thousand; he was the loftiest and proudest in his bearing of any man in the province of Ulster; his Spanish hat with the heron's plume was too often the terror of his enemies, the rallying point of his friends, not to bespeak the O'Doherty: even the high breastwork of stone, added to the natural defences of the rock, could not hide the chieftain from observation.

"On Holy Thursday, as he rested on the eastern face of the rock,

looking towards the abbey of Kilmacrennan, expecting a venerable friar to come from this favoured foundation of Columbkille, to shrive him and celebrate mass; and, as he was chatting to his men beside him, the Scotchman applied the fire to his levelled matchlock, and, before the report began to roll its echoes through the woods and hills, the ball passed through Sir Cahir's forehead, and he lay lifeless on the ramparts. His followers were panic-struck, they thought that the rising of the Scotch and English was upon them; and, deserting the lifeless body of their leader, they dispersed through the mountains. In the meanwhile the Scotchman approached the rock; he saw his foe fall; he saw his followers flee. He soon severed the head from the body, and, wrapping it in his plaid, off he set in the direction of Dublin. He travelled all that day, and at night took shelter in a cabin belonging to one Terence Gallagher, situated at one of the fords of the river Finn. Here Ramsey sought a night's lodging, which Irishmen never refuse; and partaking of an oatmeal cake and some sweet milk, he went to rest with Sir Cahir's head under his own as a pillow. The Scotchman slept sound, and Terence was up at break of day. He saw blood oozing out through the plaid that served as his guest's pillow, and suspected all was not right; so slitting the tartan plaid, he saw the hair and head of a man; slowly drawing it out, he recognised the features well known to every man in Tyrconnel; they were Sir Cahir's. Terence knew as well as any man that there was a price set on this very head, a price abundant to make his fortune, a price he now resolved to try and gain. So off Terence started, and the broad Tyrone was almost crossed by O'Gallagher, before the Scotchman awoke to resume his journey. The story is still told with triumph through the country, how the Irishman without the treason reaped the reward of Sir Cahir's death.*

Notwithstanding the particularity of this tradition, and the characteristic traits which ever give the appearance of fidelity to a well told story; we should apprise the reader that there is also some authority for a different account, as it is asserted by some historians, and inserted in the patent of Sir Richard Wingfield's title, that he slew O'Doherty in the field of battle. If we are to infer from this evidence, that the incident has been recorded thus upon the authority of Marshal Wingfield himself, we should not hesitate to prefer it to any local tradition. But the fact is too slight for discussion, and if our reader shall happen to prefer the story, we can only say that we commend his good taste. If the tradition is not correct, "*il merite bien de l'etre.*" Here follows the statement referred to: "*Postea denique, dicta rebellione de Tyrone extincta et universa pace in hoc regno stabilita, cum audacissimus proditor O'Dohertie novam civitatem de Derry incendio destruxisset, magnosque tumultus in Ultonia, concitasset, prefatus Marischallus noster, parva manu militum, dictum O'Dohertie in aperto praelio occidit, cohortesque illi adherentes subito dissipavit.*"

* Sketches in Ireland.

Sir Oliver Lambert.

DIED A. D. 1618.

WE have already had occasion to detail the principal services in which this eminent soldier was engaged; they appertain to the previous period, and may here be recapitulated briefly.

He first appears on the scene of Irish affairs in 1581, when he is named in a decree of queen Elizabeth, as a gentleman of good credit, "and nephew to Sir Henry Wallop, her majesty's vice-treasurer in Ireland."

From the patent of his title we obtain the more minute relation: that having been first trained in the Irish wars, where he received a severe wound, "*dextro succiso poplite*:" nevertheless, not discouraged he soon after engaged in the Belgian wars under the earl of Leicester; by whom he was, in consideration of his valour and reputation, appointed to command the "celebrated town" of Dowsborough, in Gueldres. By a night attack he seized the strong fortress of Anholt; and in the retaking of Daventry, he won the highest honour, by exposing himself to every danger, and receiving many wounds. Having been recalled to England, he was sent in the expedition against Spain, under the command of the earl of Essex and Howard of Effingham; in this he was master of the camp, and distinguished himself so much in the siege of Cadiz, 1596, that he was knighted on the field by Essex. And when his patron, lord Essex, was sent to command in Ireland, he came thither from that country in Sir C. Perry's regiment, in which he had a company. In this command he was distinguished by his efficient and active conduct, and when Essex was recalled, he was left master of the camp, and immediately after sergeant-major of the army.

In 1600, we find him leading a regiment of infantry and 100 cavalry into Leix and Offaly, and victualling the garrison of Philipstown, notwithstanding the fierce efforts of the O'Moores and O'Conors, who had defied him to the attempt. He may next be traced under Mountjoy, and is often mentioned as an efficient and much employed officer in the operations against Tyrone. So effectually had his valour and counsel recommended Sir Oliver, that lord Mountjoy, on 19th July, 1601, in a letter to Cecil, proposed him as the fittest person to be trusted with the government of Connaught.* In Connaught he built the fort of Galway. From this he was soon recalled on the arrival of the Spaniards under the command of Don Juan. On this memorable occasion his exploits are noticed in our account of the siege of Kinsale.

Returning to Connaught he pursued his course with vigour and success, and was rewarded by king James, who sent his warrant to the lord-deputy to pass letters patent granting him crown lands to the amount of £100 per annum. Sometime after he added to the large and numerous tracts thus acquired, several estates by purchase, and obtained further grants. He built his residence in the county of Cavan. And after being employed with much honour to himself in Scotland

* Moryson, 116.

and other places, he was raised to the peerage by patent, dated 17th February, 1617, by the title of lord Lambert baron Cavan.

He sat in parliament by this title in 1614, but died in London in 1618.

Donogh O'Brien, Fourth Earl of Thomond.

DIED A. D. 1624.

WE have little to mention of the history of this nobleman. He was among the most distinguished officers and commanders in Ireland under Mountjoy, and while he stood ever first in the confidence of the general of the English, he was equally respected by his countrymen in the opposite ranks, who in their treaties and submissions always sought his protection and relied on his honour. He obtained the honourable distinction of being known by the appellation of "the great earl."

He was educated in the English court, and was a member of the privy council, both under Elizabeth and king James. He was by the queen placed next to the president and chief justice, in all cases of Oyer and Terminer,* &c. He was made for life, constable of the castle of Carlow; and in May, 1606, he was appointed president of Munster. He died 5th December, 1624, and was buried in the cathedral church of Limerick.

Tobias Caulfield, First Earl of Charlemont.

BORN A. D. 1565—DIED A. D. 1627.

THIS nobleman was descended from an ancient family in the county of Oxford.

Sir Toby was early trained to military duties. While yet a youth, he served under the celebrated naval commander, Martin Frobisher in one of his expeditions: "*longinquis illis simul et periculosissimis in remotas insulas de Azores navigationibus, adolescens interfuit.*"† The Azores were at that time of very considerable importance, and an object of acquisition to Spain, France, Holland, and other chief countries in Europe. They were a station of rendezvous, and a harbour for the commercial enterprise of the sixteenth century; and several expeditions were fitted out to explore or take possession of them under Frobisher, Raleigh, Drake, &c., in the reign of Elizabeth. His conduct in this enterprise is mentioned in terms of the strongest approbation, and the various dangers he had to encounter from the opposition of the Spanish fleet. A second time his valour was engaged, and additional honour won, in another naval campaign, under Howard of Effingham, against Spanish vessels destined for Ireland, and intercepted near the Spanish coast. A third naval campaign added new honours. He then entered the land service, and was engaged under Essex and

* Lodge.

† Preamble to his patent, 8th August, 1619.

other commanders in France and in Belgium: in the siege of Dreux he signalized himself at the head of a storming party, and was among the first to enter the breach, in which exploit he received a severe wound in the head. Recommended by the voice of fame, he was appointed to a troop of horse, and sent into Ireland sometime in 1598, where he rose rapidly into honour and public trust during the wars against the earl of Tyrone.

In the year 1602, lord Mountjoy having, as already related, built a bridge over the Blackwater in a passage which he discovered to afford a key to Tyrone's country, and guarded it with a fort which he called Charlemont fort, after his own name Charles—he gave the command to Caulfield. Here the captain's services were so considerable, that he was rewarded by large grants out of the estates of the rebel earl.

Soon after the accession of king James, he was knighted, made a member of the privy council, and appointed governor of Charlemont fort, and of the counties of Armagh and Tyrone. From this, grants and honours accumulated; among the rest he was appointed master of the ordnance, with the large allowance of £654 19s. 5½d. per annum for himself, a lieutenant, cornet, and eighteen horsemen, at twelve pence a-day each.

His property must have been considerable when he was rated £100 to the subsidy in 8th July, 1615. He was of the commission in 1616 for setting the escheated lands in Ulster to undertakers. In consideration of his services in this and other arduous employments, of which we have here omitted the mention, he was created lord Caulfield, baron of Charlemont, by privy seal bearing date at Westminster, Nov., 1620, and limiting the title to his nephew, Sir William, and his issue male.

In March, 1621, lord Charlemont was joined in a commission of inquiry into the state of religion and justice, of trade and the army, plantations and revenues, &c.* He was joined with Dockwra and others, a commissioner and keeper of the peace in Leinster and Ulster, during the lord-deputy's absence.†

Lord Charlemont died in August, 1627, and was interred in Christ church, Dublin. He had never been married, and was succeeded by his nephew, Sir William Caulfield, the son of his brother, Dr James Caulfield.

Sir R. Wingfield, First Viscount Powerscourt.

DIED A. D. 1634.

THE Wingfields were a family of wealth and high consideration in Suffolk before the Norman conquest. Robert Wingfield was lord of Wingfield castle so early as 1087. From this Lodge, Austis, and other heraldic authors deduce many generations of eminent men, to the person who is here to be commemorated.

Richard Wingfield was the second son of Lewis Wingfield, himself

* Lodge.

† Lodge.

a younger son of Sir John Wingfield, son of Christopher Wingfield, and master of Burford and Bafford. 25. Hen. VI.

During which young Wingfield entered the military profession. Richard came over to Ireland, and was early noticed for his merit as an officer. He was sent over with his regiment into Scotland, whence he was promoted to a company. The military and naval history of England, during the reigns and of Queen Elizabeth's reign, must be familiar to every reader, and would need no more a digression beyond the importance of the campaigns which the subject has with our present circumstances. The wars were then as full of various exploits, adventures, and successes, by land and sea, in the enemy's camp in Portugal, in the Netherlands, and in the Spanish main, form the subject of a numerous chapter of British history, extending from the year 1588 to the end of the civil wars in France. It cannot even with summary rapidly commemorate the several incidents of these wars, still less enter upon the detail of the various occasions and nations, commercial, religious, political, or merely adventures, which, through the period here mentioned, led to the numerous public as well as private armaments under Howard, Leicester, Norris, and Essex; and employed the skill, adventure, and valour of such men as Raleigh, Froisher, and Drake, in attacks upon the towns and harbours of the enemy, or in dangerous attempts to intercept her Indian fleets; nor can we afford further digression for the wars against the League, which also gave a stage for the employment of British valour and French diplomacy. Yet it is fit to apprise the reader, that these military affairs are so far important to our present pages, as they in some degree offer a link in the history of nearly all the distinguished soldiers who commence the period upon which we are now entered. They also cast some light on the superior ability, vigour, and discipline manifested in the Irish wars during the reign of Elizabeth: these continental wars had been a school for the military talents of a generation that fought upon the fields of Ulster—the warriors who overthrew the Spanish forces before Kinsale, had learned to fight before the walls of Cadiz.

Sir Richard Wingfield, having commenced his course by serving in Ireland, while yet a very young man, next accompanied his regiment to Flanders, where he obtained his company, by distinguished bravery and steadiness in the field. His succeeding service was in France, where he was promoted to the rank of lieutenant-colonel of Sir John Norris's regiment. In the expedition against Cadiz, he acquired high honour in his command, and obtained the rank of colonel. He was sent with Sir John Norris into Ireland, and maintained his reputation by distinguished service, so that his merits becoming known to the queen, he was raised to the high and responsible office of marshal of the camp. In this post he has already been presented to the reader's notice in our account of the battle of Kinsale, which was fought in 1601.*

In consideration of his general services, but still more especially of his conduct upon that memorable day, king James conferred upon him the title of viscount Powerscourt. It is in the preamble of his patent that it is enumerated among his other exploits that he slew Sir Cahir

O'Doherty "in aperto prelio." We have already quoted the patent, we here extract from Lodge:—"In 1608, Sir Cahir O'Dohertie, raising new commotions in Ulster, and among other outrages, burning the new city of Londonderry, Sir Richard Wingfield and Sir Oliver Lambert were sent from Dublin, (1st May) with a small body of men to suppress him; and no sooner did they enter the territory of Tyrconnel, than the traitors withdrew into their fastnesses, whom they diligently pursued and harassed; and 14th June, taking Sir Neile O'Donell prisoner in the camp of Raphoe, conveyed him on board a king's ship lying in the harbour; and coming to a battle, Sir Richard slew O'Doherty, took Castledoe, and dispersed his rebellious followers.

For this exploit, in 1609, Sir Richard received a grant of the lands of Powerscourt, now so well known to the Irish public, for the magnificence of the demeane and the extensive and picturesque variety of the surrounding scenery.

Having, as already mentioned, been created viscount Powerscourt in 1618, he was in 1624 appointed upon the commission for keeping the peace in Leinster and Ulster, while the lord-deputy Falkland should be engaged in superintending the new plantations and visiting several districts.

In 1634 he died without issue male, and his title, according to its limitations, became extinct: his estates devolved by inheritance to Sir Edward Wingfield, his next male heir.

The title of Powerscourt was revived in the next generation in Folliott Wingfield, grandson to Sir Edward; he also died without issue, and the title was again extinguished, but was again renewed in Richard, son of Edward Wingfield, a barrister, who was cousin and heir to Folliott the last previous lord.

Phelim Machugh O'Byrne.

DIED A. D. 1630.

THE beginning of the seventeenth century was a period when the moral character of society had sunk to its lowest condition in the nations of Europe. Political corruption had attained a base level, which filled every public office with falsehood, venality, and unfathomable perfidy: and produced effects both on the public mind and on the constitutional functions of the state, which had no slight efficacy in bringing about the civil wars both in England and Ireland. The rage for adventure and its congenial attendant and stimulant, the thirst for gain, were the predominating spirits of the hour; that they were perhaps the impulses required by the revolutions of that age, may be granted when we take no more remote and general view of the history of human changes. But it is the tendency of these dispositions to lower the nobler principles of our nature; and when little counteracted by the moral or intellectual discipline of that rude age, they played rude havoc with the virtue of the more ardent and fiery minds, which were impelled by the wave of impulse. Men who were exalted by their superior wisdom, and who had conceived large projects for the good

of their generation, were not above acts which now would be regarded as degrading and mean by all who claim the ordinary rank of the educated middle classes in England, or of the very peasantry in Scotland. The judges on the bench were insensible to the sacred purity of their office. The heroes, and philosophers, and statesmen, stooped to accept of bribes for the prostitution of their influence or official powers: Raleigh, Bacon, Sully, names of the first water, are signal examples. That fraud, persecution, and every other foul malversation, should be found to overflowing in the obscure crowd, whose virtues and deeds could entitle them to no record, and whose names are only recorded by reason of the enormity of offences which required no talent to commit, is surely a simple deduction from the laws of man's nature. Such is the rational principle according to which we must view the grievous cases of persecution and plunder, of which we are pledged to offer an example. Writers who have endeavoured to reduce all the incidents of our history to the food which party prejudice desires, have loved to celebrate such instances as we shall here relate in detail. But performing this task, it is our duty to repel the misconstruction which has confounded private and merely personal vices with any distinguishing tendency of a party. Party has enough to answer for—instances more than enough of the crimes and mischiefs it has generated can be raked together from the annals of every great revolution. The common feelings and avowed principles of every political party, are, it is true, generally established on high grounds of principle: the Romanist and the protestant severally stand upon certain opinions of truth and right; and each can justify the main courses of their respective policies by arguments, which at the lowest, are high-sounding and specious: either side can be shown to have committed errors, and history is not without awful examples of those enormities which must ever be feared when grievances are to be redressed or justice to be maintained by the inflamed fanaticism of the multitude. But the malversation of individuals for their own private and selfish ends, can only be imputed to a party by the inconsiderate bolt of a rhetorician or the malignant ignorance of a journalist of the lowest class, who only desires to do mischief according to the precept of the ancient usurer, *rem quocunque modo*. In a word, if the reality of history be considered, and the actions of scoundrels on either side be justly weighed, they may be fairly thrown into opposite scales, and there can be no decided preponderance on the score of moral guilt. If omitting the numerical count of the offenders, the assassin and the plunderer be thus compared with the oppressor and the usurper, the difference will consist in the weapons they used: had they changed places, the likelihood is, that the little scoundrel would have turned out a great scoundrel, and *vice versa*.

During the reign of king James, the activity and ingenuity of fraud were strongly excited by the wide and favourable field for their exercise, which was offered by the extensive claims of the crown to large tracts of Irish land, and the numerous irregular methods which were set on foot for the purpose of ascertaining those rights. The facility of gain by unjust persecution thus presented to covetous and unscrupulous agents, was enough to hatch a numerous swarm of these foul rep-

tiles into life. The base appetite of plunder was not altogether confined to any rank. The temptation was great, and the vigilance of government was not always equally alert. The communications were imperfect; and too much depended on the vigilance and firmness of the Irish governor.

We have already noticed the class of grievous abuses, of which we are now to offer a flagrant case; but we may extract the general statement with which it is prefaced by Carte.*

"It was an age of adventurers and projectors; the general taste of the world ran in favour of new discoveries and plantings of countries; and such as were not hardy enough to venture into the remote parts of the earth, fancied they might make a fortune nearer home, by settling and planting in Ireland. The improvement of the king's revenue in a country, where it was far less than the charge of the government, was the colour made use of by such projectors, to obtain commissions of inquiry into defective titles, and grants of concealed lands and rents belonging to the crown, the great benefit of which was generally to accrue to the projector or discoverer, whilst the king was contented with an inconsiderable proportion of the concealment, or a small advance of the reserved rent. Every body was at work in finding out flaws in people's titles to their estates; the old *Pipe* rolls were searched to find out the old rents reserved and charged upon them; the patent rolls in the Tower of London, (where they are preserved in much greater numbers than in Ireland) were looked over for the ancient grants, and no means left untried to force gentlemen to a new composition, or to the accepting of new grants at a higher rent than before, in which indeed it generally ended—most persons either conscious of the deficiency of their title, or dreading the trouble, expense, and issue of a dispute with the crown, at a time and in a country where the prerogative ran very high, and that the judges universally declared their opinions in favour of it, choosing rather to make up the affair than stand a dispute, and so making a composition at as cheap a rate, and as easy an advanced rent as they could."

We have already related the history of Pheagh Machugh O'Byrne. When he was killed in battle, queen Elizabeth, by letters patent, granted his estates to his son Phelim. King James, shortly after succeeding, gave orders for the confirmation of this grant. An officer of the army in Ireland, who had been led to anticipate the forfeiture of these possessions on the rebel's death which unquestionably justified such an expectation, and had probably set his heart upon obtaining them for himself, was naturally disappointed at a disposition, which he perhaps may also have regarded as both impolitic and unjust. It is still more probable, that without troubling his head about either policy or justice, Graham resolved to make a strenuous effort to obtain the lands of the Byrnes. The first attempt thus made, was by issuing out a commission to inquire into the said lands. This commission was directed to certain official agents, closely connected with the applicant, and therefore the more easily accessible to his own wishes and representations. The case was, however, too clear to be thus disposed of—

* Vol. I. p. 27.

the inquiry only strengthened the right of Byrnes by the affirmation of the true facts of the case. The king, on this, again issued his letters patent directing the confirmation of Byrnes's possession. These proceedings were frustrated by the perseverance of the adverse party. Graham possessed considerable interest and was assisted with remorseless dexterity to spin out the time and create delay. He set up claims and offered objections; and, being backed by influence and authority, and by a warrant from the lord-deputy, he obtained possession of part of the lands. Sir James Piers Fitz-Gerald, an accomplice in this nefarious proceeding, made a bold attempt upon another part which was in possession of Bryan, a son of Phelim.

Bryan remonstrated, and as he was actually in possession, Fitz-Gerald's patent was stayed: at the same time an application was made to the king, for justice against the other intruder, Graham, and the case was ordered to be heard before the Irish council. Sir Richard alleged, that the lands were not the property of the Byrnes, but of certain freeholders, and a commission was ordered to examine witnesses on the fact. The parties were summoned to London. Sir Richard obtained the influence of the duke of Buckingham, who must have felt a strong sympathy with his unprincipled and reckless diabolism. This duke succeeded his representations, but the presence of the duke of Richmond, who knew all the truth, defeated their attempts to impose upon the royal ear, by a plain exposure of the real facts of the case.

This machinery tragedy was thus prolonged. It seems wonderful now, looking back from a different point of human advance, that those powers which could so easily set aside the law for the ends of oppression, were so inefficient when it was intended to arrest oppression and injustice. But when it became simply the case between two individuals of inferior rank and influence, there was no disposition to interrupt the machinery of the law, or the common forms of justice, by any interference of the crown or council; and thus was left open, a wide source of abuse, for the administration of the law was at that period subject to every corrupt influence of authority or fear. According to the policy of the period, we have little doubt in saying, that so clear a case should have been settled by a patent which should set aside every evasive plea. The commissions now appointed for the rehearing of a case, upon the merits of which no one living entertained the slightest doubt, were of course compelled to affirm the decision of every former commission. On this they had no choice; but they must have known, that the object of the claimant was to protract the decision by evasions, and pretences, for the mere purpose of gaining time, of which he knew well how to avail himself. He knew, and every one who gave a thought to the matter understood, the effect of delay: the changes of influence in the court, the consequences of impatience and irritation on the Irish character, the facility of implenting his opponents in some indiscretion, or should this fail, of involving them in suspicion. Sir Richard stayed the proceedings by a new plea; he had won over one of the Byrnes, and it was now proposed to show that the king had a title to the lands. On such a question, the commission had no powers to decide.

A new commission was appointed: their finding was still according

to the true facts of the case, so far as to make the villany of the whole proceeding apparent; for, as their object was manifestly to favour Sir Richard's design, they directly negatived the allegations upon which he rested his cause in the previous commission. They found that the lands in question, were *truly the inheritance* of Pheagh MacHugh, *who died in rebellion*. Proceeding no farther than this stage of the case, with wilful perversion they evaded the fact that the lands had been restored to the son by queen Elizabeth: and what shows additionally the flagitious spirit in which this commission proceeded, is the fact, that they pursued the inquiry, in direct opposition to the king and council, who wrote over to forbid these vexatious and superfluous proceedings. The next step on such a decision, would be to seize and dispose of the lands, as crown property in Ireland, was then disposed of. Here too the king interposed, and directed that no step of this nature should be taken, until the question should be decided by himself in council; but Byrne's friend, the duke of Richmond, had gone abroad to Spain, and the affair was not of sufficient magnitude to occupy the attention of the cabinet, without the aid of some person of weight. The duke died in the interim, and it was soon felt by their enemies, that the Byrnes had no friend in court. The commission acted in direct opposition to the injunctions of the court, and knew that they were quite safe in doing so: in the press of public affairs, it was easy then to pursue a point *sub silentio*. The mechanism of legal proceedings was loose in its operations—the morality of public men was, as we have observed, lax—there was no vigilant press to detect and expose. The commission knew that the victim of spoliation loses his authority and weight with his property, and that at a certain point of ruin, the voice of complaint can be stifled. On this principle of tyranny, they now proceeded more boldly and steadily to work.

The lord-deputy, upon the decision of the late commission, issued his warrant to the sheriff of Wicklow, and Sir William Parsons was put into possession of a large portion of the inheritance, while one of Byrne's sons (Bryan) who held another part, was exhorted to submit his claim to the decision of the lord-deputy. Bryan understood the purpose of this counsel too well, and held his own. Sir W. Parsons attempted to obtain a judgment in the exchequer; but the cause was dismissed with the reprobation it deserved.

A more effective course of proceedings was next adopted—the case was too outrageously unfair for law; or for even the formal justice of a packed commission of inquiry. On 13th March, 1625, the Byrnes were apprehended and committed to close confinement. It was easy to get up false information. Four witnesses, all persons under accusations themselves, were found to come forward with accusations against Brian and Tirlagh, the sons of Phelim O'Byrne. Of these informers, one was instigated by revenge, and another by terror and suffering. Tirlagh Duff Kavenagh, had been apprehended upon a warrant issued by Phelim, who was a magistrate, and was happy to revenge himself and to escape sentence by the accusation. The story of Archer is more revolting. He was an Englishman; they stripped him naked, and placed him sitting upon a heated gridiron, then scorched

him with gunpowder on the tenderest parts of his body, and finally flogged him, until he was compelled to make the desired accusation. The other two were Kavenaghs; they were afterwards hanged at Kilkenny, and died confessing the falsehood of their accusations. On this information the two Byrnes were tried; but the bills were thrown out by two grand juries. This proceeding gave a little more notoriety to the affair, than the prosecutors could have wished, but they had weighty influence, and a case to state. They represented the grand juries as contumacious, and had them fined in the Star Chamber, a court less scrupulous than a grand jury.

Such a proceeding, nevertheless, had necessarily the effect of retarding the progress of the persecutors. The affair became sufficiently notorious to demand caution. They were under the necessity of discharging the Byrnes, whom a jury had acquitted. This they did with a reluctance, which is exposed by the delays they made. Tirlagh Byrne was after five months' imprisonment enlarged on bail, to appear on ten days' warning; but Bryan, who was the possessor of the coveted lands, was detained four months more, until a petition to the council was referred to lord Aungier, and the chief justice, who enlarged him on Christmas eve, under his recognisance to appear in court the first day of the following term. He appeared, and as no case was made, he was again dismissed under the same obligation to appear on ten days' notice. But that was insufficient for the disappointed eagerness of the staunch bloodhounds at his back—

————— *ea turba cupidine prædæ*
Per rupes, scopulosque, adituque, carentia saxa,
Qua via difficilis, quaque est via nulla, feruntur.

The tantalized cupidity of Parsons, Esmonde, and their associates became inflamed by the ardour of this fiend-like chase, and gradually lost sight of the last restraints of humanity. They would not acquiesce even in the formal mockeries of justice, and the hapless Byrnes were again seized and placed under irons in the castle. They feared the effect which might be produced by the appearance of Bryan Byrne before king Charles. The decisions of the privy council of England were, it is true, just, and its sagacity not to be deceived by the flimsy statements of the Irish informers; but they had hitherto lost their weight in crossing the channel: the official authorities to which they were directed were parties in the cause, and the king's letters were mere waste paper. It was, however, evident, that the appearance of the Byrnes would necessarily put a new and dangerous face upon the whole affair: they were too well fortified in their facts, and the proofs would thus come before the king.

Under these circumstances, it was thought expedient to set a fresh prosecution on foot: the victims were for the moment secure: the gaols were raked for informers: and felons were respited from the gallows and set on to prove a case of treason. So vile were the witnesses that they could not be trusted in a court of justice: their depositions in writing were brought down into the King's Bench. The chief justice expressed his doubt that the jury would receive such evidence. But this was a slight obstacle, a sheriff and a jury was got up for the occasion. Of these, some were bribed by promises of a share in the

plunder—some were dependants of the prosecutors—all were selected for some gross disqualification. With a compliant judge, felon witnesses, and a packed jury, the result was according to the desire of the vile suborners who conducted this devilish farce, and a bill was found against the prisoners. So far this atrocious plot succeeded. The shock was sufficient to kill the unfortunate lady who saw her husband and children thus laid open to the base pursuers of their land and life. The trial was, however, still before them; and as the witnesses hitherto used, were not such as to be presented in an open court, the parties concerned exerted themselves in the county of Wicklow. Graham and Belling, happening to be provosts-marshal, used their official powers and swept together a vast rabble of witnesses, whom they compelled by the ordinary means of bribery, threats, and torture, to serve their purpose. With these, however, little was to be done when confronted with the fair examination of the court—some retracted—some equivocated; and the case made out was insufficient. Several of the witnesses were soon after hanged, and declared aloud on the gallows that they were executed because they could not by their evidence convict the Byrnes.

The matter had been prolonged too far, and made too notorious for the accusers. Successful in evading the notice of the English court, they had forced their base proceedings upon the attention of the Irish public. The friends and neighbours of the Byrnes became fully cognizant of the state of facts, and joined in an application to the court of England. A commission was sent over to investigate the affair. This commission was fortunately directed to the primate, the archbishop of Dublin, the chancellor, the chief justice, and Sir Arthur Savage, who sat in November, 1628, when after a full examination into the charges, they fully acquitted the Byrnes and restored them to liberty.

The better part of their estate however was gone, while the persecutions had been directed against their life. Their lands were shuffled, by patents easily obtained by the heedlessness of official inspection, and by the power of the parties concerned, into the hands of their enemies.

Carte, who is our authority for the facts of this tale of terror, observes upon it—"This affair made a great noise all over the kingdom, and furnished occasion for some articles in the *graces* furnished about this time. And though there appears no other instance of the like treatment—though compositions for defective titles were generally made on easy terms, and the hardships suffered were confined to a few particular persons—yet the apprehension of them was more general, and the terror thereof extended to all."

Richard, Fourth Earl of Clanricarde.

DIED A. D. 1635.

It will not be here necessary for us to detail the history of a family which has already given so many illustrious names to Irish history. Nor will the design of this work admit of our travelling back into the historical events which we have already detailed in the previous period:

we must therefore be content to sum briefly the chief incidents of his life. He first entitled himself to the notice of government by conduct which indicates his loyalty and good sense. His father having declared himself for the earl of Tyrone, he repaired at once to England,* by which he not only constrained his father's conduct, but extricated himself from the suspicions which it would otherwise be hard to escape, without taking some course at variance with his duty to his father. In 1599, he was appointed governor of Connaught. But the most distinguishing incident of his career is to be found in the history of the battle of Kinsale, fought in 1601, between the English under lord Mountjoy, and the confederate forces of O'Neil and O'Donell.† In our account of this battle we have already had to mention that he conducted himself with extraordinary valour, and by achievements of personal prowess, earned the distinction of being knighted upon the field of battle. In this battle he is said to have slain twenty of the enemy, and to have had numerous remarkable escapes, "his garments being often pierced with shot and other weapons."

In consequence of this, and other services in the same war, king James appointed him governor of Connaught, keeper of his house at Athlone, and one of the privy council. The consummation of this memoir could offer nothing more than successive appointments, now of no historical importance or personal interest. We shall endeavour to state them, in the fewest words:—In 1602, his legitimacy was impeached by his brother, who had been his enemy from an early age. A commission was appointed at his own desire, and this disagreeable question set at rest. In 1615, he refused the presidency of Munster, on the excuse of a long illness, and the king, from a consideration of his valuable services in that province, and unwilling to leave him under the command of any provincial governor, appointed him to the command of the county and city of Galway. Here his own estates chiefly lay, and the appointment was equally adapted to his interest and ease.

In 1624 he was advanced to the English peerage, under the title of baron Somerhill, and viscount Tunbridge; and in a few years after, Charles I. conferred the title of baron of Imany, viscount Galway, and earl of St Albans. He took his place by proxy in the English house of lords, in 1635, but died the same year. Lodge, from whose peerage we have collected these particulars, quotes the following extract from Strafford's letters:—"This last packet advertised the death of the earl of St Albans, and that it is reported that my hard usage broke his heart; God and your majesty know my innocency; they might as well have imputed to me for a crime his being threescore and ten years old; but these calumnies must not stay me humbly to offer to your majesty's wisdom this fit opportunity, that as that cantoned government of Galway began, so it may end in his lordship's person."

This nobleman was married to the daughter and heir of Sir Francis Walsingham, secretary of state to queen Elizabeth: she was the widow of Sir Philip Sidney, and again of the unfortunate earl of Essex; by her third husband, the earl of Clanricarde, she had one son, Ulick de Burgh,

* Moryson.

† Ibid.

the next earl, whose actions and public character will also claim a place among our illustrious men.

Richard Boyle, Earl of Cork.

BORN A. D. 1566—DIED A. D. 1643.

AMONG the many illustrious persons, who by their valour or prudence laid the foundations of the most noble families of this country, none can be named more deserving of the record of history, than the first earl of Cork. By his prudence and well directed sagacity, he showed the first example of that method of improvement which was afterwards carried into more extended operation in the plantation of Ulster. Nor is posterity less indebted to his name, for the many illustrious warriors, statesmen, and philosophers, whose names are among the noblest ornaments of their generation.

The family of Boyle is of ancient and almost immemorial antiquity. Budget, who has written their history, mentions that the ancestor from whom they are descended, was "Sir Philip Boyle, a knight of Arragon, who signalized himself at a tournament," in England, in the reign of Henry VI. But the heralds trace the family in the county of Hereford, so far back as Henry III., and as they confirm their deductions by the full details of personal history, we think it fair to acquiesce in their account.

In the reign of Henry VI., Ludovic Boyle, of Bidney, in Herefordshire, left two sons, John and Roger. The second of these left four sons, of whom one, Michael, was afterwards bishop of Waterford, and another, Roger, was father to the illustrious person whose life we are here to relate. In the discharge of this task, our labour is lightened by the existence of a memoir of himself, which the earl has left. This document has, of course, found a place in every notice of the Boyle family; but we do not for this reason think it can properly be omitted. It follows at full length :—"My father, Mr Roger Boyle, was born in Herefordshire; my mother Jean Naylor, daughter of Robert Naylor, of Canterbury, in the county of Kent, Esq., was born there, 15th of October, 1529; and my father and mother were married in Canterbury, 16th of October, 1564; my father died at Preston, near Feversham in Kent, 24th March, 1576; my mother never married again, but lived ten years a widow, and then departed this life at Feversham, aforesaid 20th March, 1586; and they are both buried in one grave, in the upper end of the chancel of the parish church of Preston. In memory of which, my deceased and worthy parents, I their second son, have, in anno 1629, erected a fair alabaster tomb over the place where they were buried, with an iron grate before it, for the better preservation thereof.

"I was born in the city of Canterbury, (as I find it written by my father's own hand) 3d October, 1566. After the decease of my father and mother, I being the second son of a younger brother, having been a scholar in Bennet's College, Cambridge, and a student in the Middle Temple; finding my means unable to support me to study the

laws in the Inns of Court, put myself into the service of Sir Richard Manwood, knight, lord chief baron of her majesty's court of exchequer, where I served as one of his clerks; and perceiving that my employment would not raise a fortune, I resolved to travel into foreign kingdoms, and to gain learning, knowledge, and experience, abroad in the world. And it pleased the Almighty, by his Divine Providence to take me I may say, just as it were by the hand, and lead me into Ireland, where I happily arrived at Dublin on Midsummer eve, the 23d of June, 1588.

"I was married at Limerick to Mrs Joan Apsley, one of the two daughters, and co-heirs of William Apsley of Limerick, Esq., (one of the council to the first president of the province of Munster,) 6th Nov., 1595, who brought me £500 lands the year, which I still enjoy, it being the beginning and foundation of my fortune; and she died at Moyallow, 14th Dec., 1599, in travail of her first child, which was born a dead son, and both of them were buried in Buttevant church.

"When I arrived at Dublin, all my wealth was then £27 3s. in money and two tokens, which my mother had formerly given me, viz. a diamond ring, which I have ever since, and still do wear; and a bracelet of gold, worth about £10; a taffety doublet, cut with and upon taffety; a pair of black velvet breeches, laced; a new MILAN fustian suit laced and cut upon taffety; two cloaks; competent linen and necessaries; with my rapier and dagger. And 23d of June, 1632, I have served my God, queen Elizabeth, king James, and king Charles, full forty-four years in Ireland, and so long after as it shall please God to enable me.

"When God had blessed me with a reasonable fortune and estate, Sir Henry Wallop, treasurer at war; Sir Robert Gardiner, chief justice of the king's bench; Sir Robert Dillon, chief justice of the common pleas; Sir Richard Bingham, chief commissioner of Connaught; being displeased for some purchases which I had made in the province, they all joined together, and by their letters complained against me to queen Elizabeth, expressing, 'That I came over a young man, without any estate or fortune; and that I had made so many purchases, as it was not possible to do it without some foreign prince's purse to supply me with money; that I had acquired divers castles and abbies on the sea side, fit to receive and entertain Spaniards; that I kept in my abbies fraternities, and convents of friars in their habits, who said mass continually; and that I was suspected in my religion, with divers other malicious suggestions.' Whereof having some secret notice, I resolved to go into Munster, and so into England to justify myself; but before I could take shipping, the general rebellion in Munster broke forth. All my lands were wasted, as I could not say that I had one penny of certain revenue left me to the unspeakable danger and hazard of my life; yet God so preserved me, as I recovered Dingle, and got shipping there, which transported me to Bristol, from whence I travelled to London, and betook myself to my former chamber in the middle temple, intending to renew my studies in the laws till the rebellion was passed over.

"Then Robert, earl of Essex, was designed for the government of this kingdom, unto whose service I was recommended by Mr Anthony

Bacon; whereupon his lordship very nobly received me, and used me with favour and grace, in employing me in suing out his patent and commission for the government of Ireland; whereof Sir Henry Wallop having notice utterly to suppress me, renewed his former complaint to the queen's majesty against me; whereupon by her majesty's special directions, I was suddenly attacked and conveyed close prisoner to the gate-house; all my papers seized and searched; and, although nothing could appear to my prejudice, yet my close constraint was continued till the earl of Essex was gone to Ireland, and two months afterwards; at which time, with much suit, I obtained of her sacred majesty the favour to be present at my answers; where I so fully answered, and cleared all their objections, and delivered such full and evident justifications of my own acquittal, as it pleased the queen to use these words: 'By God's death, all these are but inventions against this young man, and all his sufferings are for being able to do us service, and these complaints urged to forestall him therein: but we find him a man fit to be employed by ourselves, and we will employ him in our service; and Wallop and his adherents shall know that it shall not be in the power of any of them to wrong him, neither shall Wallop be our treasurer any longer.' And, arising from council, gave order not only for my present enlargement, but also discharging all my charges and fees during my restraint, gave me her royal hand to kiss, which I did heartily; humbly thanking God for that great deliverance.

"Being commanded by her majesty to attend at court, it was not many days before her highness was pleased to bestow upon me the office of clerk of the council of Munster,* and to commend me over to Sir George Carew (after earl of Totness), and then lord-president of Munster; whereupon I bought of Sir Walter Raleigh his ship, called 'the Pilgrim,' into which I took a freight of ammunition and victuals, and came in her myself by long sea, and arrived at Carrigfoile in Kerry, where the lord-president and the army were then at the siege of that castle; which, when we had taken, I was there sworn clerk of the council of Munster; and presently after made a justice of peace and quorum throughout all that province. And this was the second rise that God gave to my fortunes.

"Then as clerk of the council, I attended the lord-president in all his employments; waited on him (who assisted lord-deputy Mountjoy) at the whole siege of Kingsale, and was employed by his lordship to her majesty with the news of the happy victory (obtained over the Irish under the earl of Tyrone and the Spaniards, 24th of December, 1601); in which employment I made a speedy expedition to the court; for I left my lord-president at Shandon castle, near Cork, on Monday morning about two of the clock, and the next day delivered my packet, and supped with Sir Robert Cecil, being then principal secretary, at his house in the Strand; who, after supper, held me in discourse till two of the clock in the morning; and by seven that morning called upon me to attend him to the court, where he presented me to her majesty

* Lodovic Briskett surrendered that office 31st March, 1600, to the intent the queen might give it to Mr Boyle, together with the custody of the signet for the province whereof he had a grant by patent, dated 8th of May following.

in her bedchamber; who remembered me, calling me by my name, and giving me her hand to kiss, telling me, that *she was glad that I was the happy man to bring the first news of the glorious victory.* And after her majesty had interrogated with me upon sundry questions very punctually, and that therein I had given her full satisfaction in every particular, she gave me again her hand to kiss, and commanded my dispatch for Ireland, and so dismissed me with grace and favour.

"At my return into Ireland, I found my lord-president ready to march to the siege of Beervhaven castle, then fortified and possessed by the Spaniards and some Irish rebels, which after battering we had made assaultable, entered, and put all to the sword. His lordship then fell to reducing these western parts of the province to subjection and obedience to her majesty's laws; and, having placed garrisons and wards in all places of importance, made his return to Cork; and in the way homewards acquainted me with his resolution to employ me presently into England, to obtain license from her majesty for his repair to her royal presence; at which time he propounded unto me the purchase of all Sir Walter Raleigh's lands in Munster, which, by his assistance, and the mediation of Sir Robert Cecil, was perfected, and this was a third addition and rise to my estate.

"Then I returned into Ireland with my lord-president's licence to repair to court; and by his recommendation was married, 25th July, 1603, to my second wife, Miss Catherine Fenton, the only daughter of Sir Jeffray Fenton, principal secretary of state, and privy counsellor, in Ireland, on which day I was knighted by Sir George Carew, lord-deputy of Ireland, at St Mary's abbey, near Dublin."

This memoir is said to have been written in the year 1632, when the noble writer had reached his 67th year; he was at the time lord Boyle, baron Youghall, viscount Dungarvon, earl of Cork, and lord high treasurer of Ireland.

In 1603 he was, as this memoir states, married to his second wife, Miss Catherine Fenton. Of this marriage the following curious origin is mentioned by some writers, on the authority of the countess of Warwick, in whose life it has been inserted. While yet a widower, Sir Richard Boyle, had, according to this story, occasion to pay a visit of business to Sir Geoffrey Fenton, master of the rolls. Sir Geoffrey was engaged, and Boyle was detained for a long time; during which he amused himself by playing with Sir Geoffrey's little daughter, then about two years old. When Sir Geoffrey came, he apologised for having detained Mr Boyle so long; but was answered by Mr Boyle, that he had been courting his little daughter, with the design to make her his wife. Fenton took up the jest, and the conversation ended in a serious engagement, that the match should be concluded when the young lady should attain a marriageable age.* And, as the tale runs, they both fulfilled their promises. Of this account, there is no reason to reject so much as merely involves a common play of speech; the rest is not admitted as correct by Lodge; nor is it reconcilable with the dates

* Postscript appended to Budget's Memoir. The assertion of the countess of Warwick goes further still, "that he was a widower when his lady, by whom he had a numerous issue, was in her nurse's arms."

given by the earl himself, in the narrative already cited; as his first wife's death occurred in 1599, and his second marriage in 1603.

In March 12, 1606, he was sworn privy counsellor for the province of Munster; and on 15th February following, for all Ireland. After several other lesser advancements and changes, he was, on 6th September, 1616, created lord Boyle, baron of Youghall. Of this promotion, the reasons assigned are not merely those military services enumerated in most of the patents we have hitherto had occasion to notice. Boyle is commended for the judicious erection of forts and castles, and the establishment of colonies at his own cost, and it may be added, for his own great advantage, without questioning the further asseverations of the record, which proceeds to say, that all those districts surrounding his properties were, by his prudence and industry, become more civilized, wealthy, and obedient to the law.

In 1620, lord Boyle was advanced to the dignities of viscount Dungarvon, and earl of Cork.

In 1629, his lordship and lord chancellor Loftus were sworn lords-justices. In 1631, he was appointed lord-treasurer, and continued in the government till the arrival of lord Strafford.

Of lord Strafford we have already expressed our opinions; the principle of his general policy was just and comprehensive: but it must be allowed to have been harsh, unbending, and often unjust to individuals. If in the prosecution of his public aims, he was incorrupt and no respecter of persons; he was arrogant, domineering, and heedless of every consideration, by which more scrupulous minds are controlled. Such a disposition was, as we have endeavoured to show, not unsuited to the actual condition of the country, at the time; and had the irrespective principle of his policy been thoroughly maintained, there would have been less reason to complain. But this he found impracticable; and in yielding to influences and to circumstances which he could not control, his stern and overbearing temper became tyrannical to a party, and oppressive to individuals. In abandoning a portion of his extreme and rigorous course, he gave a triumph to the popular party; and diffused terror among its opponents. To the leaders of the protestant party, such a line of conduct could not fail to be offensive, as it was alarming: to these his hostility was early shown by the arrogance of his deportment to many of the most influential and distinguished of the Irish aristocracy. To the earl of Cork, his conduct was insolent, oppressive, and illegal. This earl had commenced a suit at law, to which Strafford thought fit to interpose his authority, and commanded that the earl of Cork should call in his writs, "or if you will not, I will clap you in the castle; for I tell you, I will not have my orders disputed by law nor lawyers," such was the intolerable mandate of this despotic minister. This incident derives some added importance from the fact, that not long after, when Strafford was tried for his life before the lords, it was brought forward against him; and the earl of Cork summoned over to England to give his testimony. The earl was a man unquestionably of a noble and manly nature; but generosity was not among the virtues of that day of rapine, intrigue, and political baseness; and it will perhaps be no wrong to him to say, that he must have felt, on that occasion, the triumph of his party, in

giving his testimony against the most formidable oppressor they had then had to encounter.

The rebellion broke out in 1641; and though long expected by every class, spread terror and dismay through the country; hatred, distrust, and terror, seized the public mind; havoc and desolation began their well-known progress, with far more than their wonted fury. But such had been the effect of the earl's care, skill, and liberality in the extensive plantations he had made, that the waves of popular frenzy were retarded in their approaches to the county of Cork. On this occasion he fortified his castle of Lismore, which he garrisoned with an hundred horse and an hundred foot, and placed under the charge of his son, lord Broghill. His son lord Kynalmeaky, he placed in the command of Bandon bridge, a town erected by himself, and of which the walling and fortifying cost him fourteen thousand pounds, where he maintained a hundred horse and four hundred foot. The earl himself, at the earnest entreaty of the lord-lieutenant, took upon him the defence of the important town of Youghall, which was the only retreat left for the protestants in that part of the kingdom. There the earl, with his son, lord Dungarvon, his troop of cavalry, and two hundred of his own tenants, took his dangerous position; which he thus describes in a letter to lord Goring, "encompassed with an innumerable company of enemies, and have neither men, money, or munition. We are now at the last gasp; and, therefore, if the state of England do not speedily supply us, we are all buried alive. The God of heaven guide the hearts of the house of parliament to send us speedy succours; for if they come not speedily they will come too late."* We here give another extract from the same letter, as it affords a very distinct view of the general alarm of that appalling time. "This came last night about midnight, from my son, Broghill, who hath the guard of my house at Lismore; whereby you will truly understand the great danger my son, house, and all that ever I had, in effect, is in; whom I beseech God to bless and defend; for the enemies are many, and he not above a hundred foot and threescore horse in my house to guard the same. All the English about us are fled, save such as have drawn themselves into castles, but are but few in effect, and they very fearful. All the natives that are papists, (the rest being few or none) are in open action and rebellion. Except the lord Barrimore, who behaves himself most loyally and valiantly. But alas! what is he with his forces amongst so many, when the whole kingdom is out."†

At this time Kilkenny had been taken without a blow by the rebel lord Mountgarret, and the countess of Ormonde made a prisoner in her husband's castle; Cashel and Ferrers had surrendered; the protestant inhabitants in all these towns were stripped and turned out naked by the captors, "in such a barbarous manner as is not to be believed."‡ Clonmel threw open her gates, "and let in the rebels to despoil the English," &c.

The earl soon made himself especially an object of attack by his vigilant and efficient activity and prudence. A letter, which he

* Letters of the Earl of Cork, among the State Letters of Roger Earl of Orrery.

† Ibid.

‡ Ibid.

addressed to the speaker of the English house of commons, will not only give a just notion of the weakness of the enemy, but affords a strong confirmation of some remarks which we have already offered as to the cause. "Sir, I pray you give me leave to present unto yourself and that honourable house, that this great and general rebellion broke forth in October last, at the very instant I landed here out of England; and though it appeared first at Ulster, yet I (who am threescore and sixteen years of age, and have eaten the most part of my bread in Ireland, these four and fifty years) and by reason of my several employments and commands in the government of this province and kingdom, could not but apprehend that the infection and contagion was general and would by degrees quickly creep into this province as forthwith it did. And for that I found to my great grief, that by the courses the late earl of Strafford had taken, all, or the greatest part of the English and protestants in this province were deprived of their arms, and debarred from having any powder in their houses, and the king's magazines here being so weakly furnished, as in a manner they were empty; I without delay furnished all my castles in these two counties, with such ammunition as my poor armoury did afford, and sent £300 sterling into England to be bestowed on ammunition for myself and tenants," &c., &c.*

We shall here pass the further notices contained in this correspondence, of which we shall make further use hereafter. The earl lost his son, lord Kinalmeaky, in these wars; he was slain at the head of his troop in the battle of Liscarrol, in which three of his brothers were at the same time engaged, lord Dungarvon, and Broghill, and Francis Boyle.

In July, 1642, the earl was empowered and commissioned as Custos Rotulorum of the county of Cork, to hold quarter sessions for the trial of the rebels for high treason, at which eleven hundred were indicted.

The earl had, in the course of these two years, exhausted his means, and reduced himself to the lowest condition of distress, by his free and liberal contributions to the war. His estates were nevertheless the most thriving in the kingdom; his improvements were the most extensive, costly, and in their character the most well planned and public spirited; his churches, hospitals, schools, bridges, castles, and towns, would require pages to enumerate, so as to convey any adequate idea to the reader. Cromwell's remark is well known, and considering the speaker, conveys more than the most detailed enumeration. "That if there had been an earl of Cork in every province, it would have been impossible for the Irish to have raised a rebellion."† A remark elicited by his astonishment on seeing the prodigious improvements effected by the earl in the county of Cork.

The earl did not long survive these troubles, or live to see the end of this long and disastrous war; he attained the mature age of 77, but his period may perhaps have been abridged by the fatigues, anxieties, and afflictions attendant on the last two years previous to his death. This event occurred in 1643, in the month of September, at Youghall. He was interred in his chapel within the parish church.

* State Letters, &c.

† Cox.

By his second wife, the lady Catherine Fenton, who died 1629, and was buried in St Patrick's cathedral, in Dublin, he had issue seven sons and eight daughters. Of these some were high among the most illustrious persons of this period, and will hereafter claim our most elaborate efforts in their several departments. We shall here only enumerate them in their order of birth: Roger died at school; Richard, lord Dungarvon, succeeded his father; Jeffrey was drowned while a child; Lewis, viscount Kynalmeaky, rose high in military character, was killed in the battle of Liscarrol, September, 1642, by a shot in the head; Roger, created earl of Orrery; Francis, viscount Shannon, distinguished by the most signal bravery in the same battle, in which he brought off his brother's body and his troop at the great risk of his own life; Robert, the illustrious philosopher, whose character and discoveries have imparted more lustre to the name of Boyle, than the proudest title which the power of kings can confer.

Richard Nugent, Earl of Westmeath.

BORN A. D. 1583—DIED A. D. 1641.

SIR GILBERT DE NUGENT, with his brothers, and several of his kindred came to Ireland among the followers of Hugh de Lacie. And in recompense for his services obtained from that celebrated warrior, a grant of the barony of Delvin. Of which Sir Gilbert in turn made ample allotments to his brothers and others. From these contemporary stocks this family produced numerous branches. Sir Gilbert had two sons, who died without issue before their father. His barony was therefore left to his brother Richard, who left an only daughter. This lady married a gentleman of the name of Johns, in whose family the barony descended for some generations, but again returned to the family by the intermarriage of the heiress of John Fitz-Johns, lord of the barony, to Sir William Nugent of Balrath, the descendant of Sir Gilbert's third brother Christopher Nugent.

The subject of our history, Richard Nugent, was tenth baron in the lineal descent from Sir William. He was born in 1583. At the age of twenty he was knighted in Christ church with Rorey O'Donnell, earl of Tyrconnel. The next occasion which presents his name to the historian, is one which we had to notice more than once. It was when an anonymous letter dropped in the council chamber, led to the arrest of several Irish chiefs and noblemen, of whom Nugent was one. This incident has already received as much of our attention as it demands.*

The reader will perhaps recollect, that in consequence of this letter, and of other previous incidents, which awakened the fears of government, the earls of Tyrone and Tyrconnel, Maguire, O'Cahan, and most of the Ulster lords fell under suspicion of being engaged in an extensive conspiracy to seize on the castle, and effect a revolution in the country. Of these many fled beyond the sea, and others who stood their ground were arrested.

* Page 323.

Nugent was imprisoned in the castle, but soon escaped. His servants, John Evans and Alexander Aylmer, found means to procure for him some cords, by the help of which he contrived to let himself down from the castle wall during the night. As soon as this fact was discovered in the castle, a proclamation was issued for his apprehension; and Sir Richard Wingfield was detached in pursuit with a party of cavalry. The baron, however, had too well availed himself of the night, and the pursuit was to no purpose. This escape was indeed fortunate, for it is hard to say what severities the first alarm might have drawn from the resentment or the private views of those at whose discretion he must have lain. His conduct was also prudent after the alarm had subsided; when the whole extent of the case which government could make was fully ascertained, and it appeared that the flight of the suspected earls was the chief presumption against them, the baron of Delvin came from concealment, and freely made his submission to king James. On which he received under the great seal a full pardon for life and property.

He assisted in the parliaments of 1613, and 1615. And 1621 was created by patent, earl of Westmeath. In 1628—1633, he was engaged by his countrymen to press their suit with king Charles for the redress of grievances, and was successful in obtaining their wishes.

In 1634 he sat in the parliament, called by the earl of Strafford, and was looked upon as one of the most influential of the peers.

In 1641, he refused to join in rebellion, and his life was menaced by the rebels. He was in his 58th year, and much broken by disease, fatigue, and probably by the failure of a constitution not originally strong. The threats which reached his ear alarmed him for his personal safety, and he feared to remain at his country place of Clonin, near Castletown Delvin. Obtaining a guard of forty horse, detached for the protection of his journey, at the order of lord Ormonde, he set out with his family, household furniture, and valuable property, on the way to Dublin. He had reached Athboy, when his further progress was arrested by a large party of rebels, to the number of one thousand—resistance was not attempted. The carriage of the earl and the train of luggage-carts by which it was accompanied were instantly surrounded by a furious armed rabble, eager for plunder, and without the control of discipline or civilization. The work of plunder was brief and complete; plate and money to the amount of one thousand pounds were seized; the countess and her attendants were stripped; the earl, blind and paralytic, was dragged from his carriage, and pulled along the road with a degree of violence which dislocated both his shoulders; a pistol was fired at him, and the bullet broke his thigh. His lordship could not have survived this cruel treatment more than a few hours; and his death followed in consequence.

David Barry, Earl of Barrymore.

BORN A. D. 1598—DIED A. D. 1642.

WE have already had occasion to notice this ancient family, of which the name is to be found in the roll of those brave knights who accompanied William I. into England.

David succeeded to the estates and honours of his family at the age of twelve. In the year 1626, he was raised by king Charles to the earldom of Barrymore, upon the general consideration of his promising character and high reputation; as also on account of the respectability of his family and the numerous eminent knights and scholars it had produced. We should not, however, have considered these general grounds as a sufficient reason for giving him a place among those which are selected here for virtues or vices, actions or adventures, which distinguished them from their generations.

But the rebellion of 1641, called forth the loyalty and heroism of a noble breast; and the end of his life, crowned with a well-won reputation, claims from us the memorial of a few words.

This rebellion had not proceeded far, before the rebels applied to this earl to take the command, and offered to make him their leader, with full authority. The earl replied, "I will first take an offer from my brother Dungarvon, to be hangman-general at Youghal." When this message reached the rebel camp, the rebels sent back word that they would pull down his castle of Castlelyons, to which he answered that he would defend it while one stone remained upon another, and desired to hear no more messages from them.

He garrisoned his castle of Shandon with one hundred men, and by his alertness, caution, and courage, kept open the passages between Youghal and Cork. On the 10th May, 1642, he joined his forces with those of lord Dungarvon, and took the castle of Ballymar Patrick, in which a large party of rebels had shut up one hundred women and children. Many of the rebels were slain in the attack, and sixty taken, of whom fifty-one were executed. After some other important successes, he distinguished himself in the battle of Liscarrol, in which he headed his own regiment. We are not informed that he suffered any severe hurt at this battle; yet it is very likely that he met with some injury either from fatigue, over excitement, or blows, for his death took place about three weeks after, 29th Sept., 1642.

He is mentioned by many good authorities as eminent for his piety and extensive benevolence. He had sermons twice a-day in his house, on every Sunday, Wednesday, and Friday. During the rebellion he was especially active in the relief and protection of the numerous persons whom the rebels had stripped and turned out of doors.

He was interred in the earl of Cork's family vaults at Youghal. He had married a daughter of the earl of Cork.

Sir William St Leger.

DIED A. D. 1642.

We have already mentioned the origin of the ancient family of St Leger,* in our notice of Sir Anthony, grandfather to the eminent soldier of whom we are now to give some account. We have also already noticed the death of his brave father, Warham St Leger, who fell in an encounter with the rebel leader, Macguire, whom he at the same time slew.

In consideration of the eminent services of these and other ancestors of this family, Sir Anthony was early considered entitled to the favours of the crown, and received large grants and privileges from James I. In April, 1627, he was appointed lord-president of Munster, with the command of the company which belonged to his predecessor in office, Sir Edward Villiers. He was at the same time made a member of the privy council. As president, his success, prudence, and strict integrity, as well as his disinterested conduct, gained so much approbation as to induce king Charles to bestow upon him the sum of £756.

In 1639, he was elected member of parliament for the county of Cork; and immediately after, was appointed sergeant-major general of the army, in which capacity he commanded the Irish troops levied to serve in Scotland in 1640.

When the rebellion broke out, his force was little adequate to the demand of the emergency, until he was strengthened by some regiments sent over to his aid by the parliament, and joined by other southern nobles with their companies. His deficiency of force was, however, from the outset compensated by superior prudence and decision. The rebellion, which had already spread its terrors over every other province of Ireland, at last found its way to Munster. The borders of the province began to suffer from parties of the Wexford rebels, who drove off the cattle of the English about Waterford. On receiving a report of these exploits, St Leger marched with two hundred horse to recover the spoil. The season was inclement—there had been a heavy fall of snow, followed by a sharp frost; and the difficulty necessarily to be encountered, in consequence of a state of weather particularly unfavourable to the march of cavalry, was aggravated by the nature of the country to be passed. The steep and craggy passes of the Waterford mountains offered impediments more formidable than the enemy; these were, nevertheless, happily overcome by the patience and resolution of St Leger and his little band of hardy veterans. At the base of the Commeragh mountains he overtook the first small division of these robbers, whose portion of the spoil he rescued, and took nineteen prisoners. The main body was, however, six miles further on,

* Vol. I. p. 475.

and having gained the Suir, were preparing to cross that river with their prey. Some had crossed, but a large party stood prepared to defend their booty on the bank. Their resistance was ineffectual, and served to cause an effusion of blood; of their number one hundred and forty were killed on the spot, a considerable number drowned in their attempt to escape across the water, and fifty prisoners were taken and conveyed into Waterford, where forty of them were executed. On the following day, while he was yet in Waterford, an account reached that city, that the archbishop of Cashel was plundered. On this he marched to Cashel, and recovered the cattle which had been driven away and lodged in the enclosure of a gentleman in the neighbourhood.

This was but the beginning of troubles in Munster: the tide of rebellion soon poured in and filled every district with its waters of confusion: Cashel, Clonmel, Dungarvon, and Fethard, were summoned by the rebels, and yielded without resistance. On hearing this, the president despatched orders to the lord Broghill, the earl of Barrymore, Sir Hardress Waller, Sir Edward Denny, Sir John Browne, Captain William Kingsmill, and serjeant-major Searle, and was joined by these leaders, with six hundred foot and three hundred horse. He had at the same time, been enabled to raise a regiment, with two troops of horse, together amounting to one hundred and twenty men: with these raw, and half-trained soldiers, it was resolved to make a stand. Notwithstanding the disadvantages under which he lay, and the strength of the enemy—which was at the lowest four to one compared with this combined force—the president, with his officers, took up a position at Redshard, a pass from the county of Limerick into the county of Cork, at the eastern extremity of the Ballehoura mountains. The rebel army soon appeared headed by the lord Muskerry. The president was engaged in preparations for an immediate attack, when a person of the name of Walsh, a lawyer, attended by a trumpeter, came from Muskerry. Walsh desired to speak with the lord-president alone: the president and other gentlemen in the company recognised Walsh and expressed their wonder that a man of his reputation should have joined the rebels. Walsh, in reply, assured the lord-president that there was no rebellion, as he could satisfy him in private. The other lords objected to this private conference, and Walsh refused to deliver his errand. The difference was compromised: a strong party of soldiers was placed round the spot where the president gave audience to him. This being arranged, the president heard with surprise, that the lord Muskerry acted under a commission from the king, which Walsh offered to prove by producing the commission, if he might have a safe conduct to go and return for the purpose. The president agreed; and having communicated this to his officers, they all agreed that he should await the return of Walsh on the morrow. Lord Broghill alone expressed his opinion that the message must be “a cheat; and that the king would never grant out commissions to those, whom in his proclamations he had declared rebels.”

On the return of Walsh to his own party, lord Muskerry drew off his army, and there was a general stop to all military operations.

Next day Walsh returned, and on being admitted to a meeting with the lord-president St Leger, produced a large parchment with the broad seal affixed, containing a royal commission to lord Muskerry to raise 4000 men. On this the president returned to his officers, and informed them that lord Muskerry had really good warrant for what he did, and declared that he would dismiss his men. In this all concurred with the exception of lord Broghill, and accordingly withdrew to their houses.

The sense of having been the dupe of this unfortunate fraud, and the deepening of the troubles of the time, preyed so heavily on the spirits of St Leger, that he fell into a long and severe illness, which brought him to his grave, 2d July, 1642. He was twice married, and left four sons and one daughter.

Roger Moore.

DIED A. D. 1643.

ROGER MOORE, or O'MORE, was the representative of the ancient family of Leix, in the province of Leinster. The names of his ancestors have frequently occurred in those pages. A sept bordering upon the English pale, must have been exposed to the constant effects of those mutual aggressions, which slight occasions were ever sufficient to provoke from either side. And as the English power became ascendant before the secret of this ascendancy was fully comprehended by the Irish, the spirit of opposition continued until the retaliations of the government became more decisive and overwhelming. The native leaders, looking on their numbers, and on the experience of previous encounters, little calculated on the consequence of a more regulated and deliberate direction of the English force, and inadvertently pushed their aggressions to extremity. With a fallacious confidence in their own strength, and ignorance of the real resources of the government, they continued to present a front of resistance, till they drew upon themselves utter destruction.

In the reign of Mary, the O'Mores had been expelled from their possessions; and we must assent to the general sense of our authorities, that there was in this violent and extreme proceeding a very considerable mixture of injustice and deception. The result was a hereditary enmity to the English—a passion in its fullest violence inherited by Roger Moore.

Having passed some years of his youth in Spain, he was, while there, chiefly conversant with those Irish or their descendants who had taken refuge in that kingdom after the rebellion of the earl of Tyrone, and who naturally cherished the recollections of their ancestral honours, and of the wrongs which they attributed to the English; these sentiments were inflamed by the national enmity of Spain, which had for the course of the last generation burned against England with

a violence unabated by occasional intervals of alliance and peace. The humiliations of reverse are relieved in some measure by the recollections of the "times of old;" there is a dignified character in suffering for a great cause, and a romantic grandeur in the resentment of national wrongs. The companions of Moore—young men of enterprising spirit and military ambition—were invested with the honours of misfortune; and living among a romantic and ardent people, learned to feel their own proud importance as patriots, and as the sufferers of adversity in a noble cause. Such was the congenial atmosphere in which the ardour of Roger Moore caught fire. But his was not a spirit to waste its fervour in the peaceful ostentation of suffering heroism. While his enthusiastic spirit was inflamed by the traditions of ten thousand wrongs, and exalted with the glory of a noble line, his enterprise was roused, and his active and ready intellect was stimulated to projects of revenge, and for the recovery of his possessions. Among his companions who fed themselves with resentment and hope, there could be no want of breasts to respond to this excitement, and Moore met encouragement, applause, exhortations, and promises of assistance. Above all, his designs met encouragement from the son of the late unfortunate Hugh O'Neill. O'Neill had obtained a regiment in the Spanish service: he was looked up to by his countrymen at home and abroad with feelings something similar to those with which the descendants of Stuart were regarded in England and Scotland.

This temper was additionally excited by the agency of deeper and wider causes. Years before the rebellion, lord Strafford received information from M'Mahon, an Irish priest, that a general insurrection in Ireland was designed, and that great exertions were making to obtain foreign assistance. As the time drew nigh similar warnings flowed in from the residents in every foreign court. And the Irish lords-justices received an intimation from the English cabinet, "that there had passed from Spain, and other parts, an unspeakable number of Irish churchmen to England and Ireland, and some good old soldiers, under pretence of raising levies for the king of Spain; and that it was whispered by the Irish friars in that kingdom, that a rebellion was shortly expected in Ireland, particularly in Connaught."*

In Ireland the insurrection was mounting to the point of combustion. The agents mentioned in the despatch of secretary Vane, were not remiss in their labour of love; and Moore was not less industrious or successful in conciliating, inflaming, concentrating, and organizing the spirits and the resources of Irish patriotism. He was indeed eminently qualified for the office; his mind was endowed with all the nobler tones of the Irish character; he had imagination to exalt and dignify, enthusiasm to animate and warm, eloquence to communicate: his high bearing and graceful address could win the eye, and his frank and earnest patriotism strike corresponding flashes from the simple and ardent hearts of his countrymen. Though not gifted with solid and practical wisdom—he was quick, ingenious, and penetrating, and

* Carte, Letter xviii. Vol. III.

possessed that instinctive insight into character which enabled him to seize upon the master passion of his hearer, and avail himself of the motives by which each individual was most likely to be influenced. With these qualifications for the task of awakening insurrection, he was also gifted with a humane and honourable temper, which had he been a wiser man, would have checked his career, and restrained him from the application of that fatal brand, which it cost so many years of blood and gall to quench ineffectually. But Moore was a creature of romance, his dream was the vindication of national rights, and he fondly thought that armed violence could be limited by the feeble barriers of justice, honour, and humanity. With the advantage of a popular manner and prepossessing exterior, he quickly won the hearts of the common people: he was extensively and highly connected with many of the noblest families of the pale, and maintained a familiar intimacy with the noblest of the English race. His influence was thus easily extended into every quarter, and there was no circle in which he had not means to try his way, and if possible, insinuate disaffection. With all these advantages he gained a rapid ascendancy.

Among his kindred and friends he found some whom their fortune and tempers recommended more especially as fit objects for his purposes: Richard Plunket, a son of Sir Christopher Plunket, Maguire lord Iniskillen, MacMahon, Philip Reilly, and Tirlogh O'Neile. To each of these he presented the suggestions most adapted to their several characters and positions: to all he urged the facilities and probabilities in favour of a general rising. He advised that each should endeavour to gain over his own friends to the project: and that they should hasten their preparations for declaring themselves in a few months, when the approach of winter should lessen the danger of any interference from England. Of the first overtures which he made to these conspirators, a minute account has been given by lord Maguire: from this we shall here give a full extract, as the most satisfactory statement which can be obtained of the beginning of this most disastrous rebellion:—"Being in Dublin, Candlemas term last was twelve months, 1640, the parliament then sitting, Mr Roger Moore did write to me, desiring me that, if I could in that spare time, I would come to his house, for then the parliament did nothing but sit and adjourn, expecting a commission for the continuance thereof, their former commission being expired; and that some things he had to say to me that did nearly concern me; and on the receipt of his letter, the new commission for continuing the parliament landed, and I returned him an answer that I could not fulfil his request for that present; and thereupon he came himself to town presently after, and sending to me, I went to see him at his lodging. And after some little time spent in salutations, he began to discourse of the many afflictions and sufferings of the natives of that kingdom, and particularly in those late times of my lord Strafford's government, which gave great distaste to the whole kingdom. And then he began to particularize the sufferings of them that were the more ancient natives, as were the Irish: now that on several plantations they were all put out of their ancestors' estates. All which sufferings, he said, did beget a general discontent over all

the whole kingdom in both the natives, to wit, the old and new Irish. And that if the gentry of the kingdom were disposed to free themselves furtherly from the like inconvenience, and get good conditions for themselves, for regaining their ancestors' (at least a good part thereof) estates, they could never desire a more convenient time than that time, the distempers in Scotland being then on foot; and did ask me what I thought of it?

"I made him answer, that I could not tell what to think of it; such matters being altogether out of my element. Then he would needs have of me an oath of secrecy, which I gave him, and thereupon he told me that he spoke to the best gentry of quality in Leinster, and a great part of Connaught, touching that matter; and he found all of them willing thereto, if so be they could draw to them the gentry of Ulster: for which cause, said he, I came to speak to you. Then he began to lay down to me the case that I was in then, overwhelmed in debt, the smallness of my estate, and the greatness of the estate my ancestors had, and how I should be sure to get it again, or at least a good part thereof.* And moreover, how the welfare and maintaining the Catholic religion, which, he said, undoubtedly the parliament now in England will suppress, doth depend upon it: for, said he, it is to be feared, and so much I hear from every understanding man, the parliament intends the utter subversion of our religion;—by which persuasions he obtained my consent. And so he demanded whether any more of the Ulster gentry were in town. I told him that Mr Philip Reilly, Mr Tirlough O'Neile brother to Sir Phelim O'Neile, and Mr Cossloe MacMahon, were in town; so for that time we parted.

"The next day he invited Mr Reilly and I to dine with him; and after dinner he sent for those other gentlemen, Mr O'Neile and Mr MacMahon, and when they were come, he began the discourse, formerly used to me, to them; and with the same persuasions formerly used to me, he obtained their consent. And then he began to discourse of the manner how it ought to be done, of the feasibility and easiness of the attempt, considering matters as they then stood in England, the troubles of Scotland, the great number of able men in the kingdom, meaning Ireland: what succours they were to hope for from abroad: and the army then raised, all Irishmen, and well armed, meaning the army raised by my lord Strafford against Scotland. First, that every one should endeavour to draw his own friends into that act, and at least those that did not live in one county with them. And when they had so done, they would send to the Irish in the low countries, and in Spain, to let them know of the day and resolution: so that they would be over with them by that day or soon after with a supply of arms and ammunition, as they could: that there should be a set day appointed, and every one in his own quarters should rise out that day, and seize on all the arms he could get in his county; and this day to be near winter, so that England could not be able to send

* *Fortuna ex omnis victoribus præmia posuit*, the true old secret of rebellion, however the outside may be ornamented with the dream of liberty, and the pretences of patriotism.

forces into Ireland before May, and by that time there was no doubt to be made but that they themselves should be supplied by the Irish beyond seas, who, he said, could not miss of help from either Spain or the Pope.* Such was the plan proposed by Moore; but lord Maguire informs us that the company did not entirely adopt his proposal. They resolved not to stir in the matter until they should first have ascertained how far they might depend on having help from the continent. They were also desirous to have the advice and consent of the gentry through Ireland. On this point Moore urged, "that it was to no purpose to spend much time in speaking to the gentry: for that there was no doubt to be made of the Irish, but that they would be ready at any time," &c. Among other things he told them, that there was a great man whose name for the present he was sworn to conceal; but who would not fail them if the rising should begin. This was lord Mayo, as he declared on a pledge of secrecy from lord Maguire and the rest of the company.

From this, Moore continued to exert his utmost efforts, while the other principal parties, just mentioned, held themselves in reserve, according to the views they had taken. Their caution was not yet overcome, and they were resolved not to commit themselves, until they could ascertain the security for success and safety. Moore proceeded soon after into Ulster, where he hoped to meet many of the gentry at the assizes; but meeting few, and not finding the readiness he expected, the utmost that could be determined was the postponement of further proceedings, till the following May, when the conspirators should meet in Dublin. In the mean time, a message from the earl of Tyrone came from Spain, to confer with the members of his family and name, and inform them that he had obtained the cardinal Richieu's promise to send arms, ammunition, and money, on demand, to Ireland: and that he himself only awaited the favourable moment to join them, and desired them to be ready.† This message quickened the dilatory, and gave new life to their proceedings. When they met in Dublin, Mr Moore, Reilly, lord Maguire, and his brother dispatched the messenger (Neile O'Neile) back to Spain, to announce their determination to rise on "twelve or fourteen days before or after All Hallowtide, as they should see cause, and that he should not fail to be with them at that time."‡

In the mean time, the earl of Tyrone was killed. On receiving confirmation of this afflicting intelligence, Moore sent off one father Connolly, the priest of the parish in which he lived, to colonel Owen O'Neile. Further incidents soon occurred to favour the views and quicken the resolution of the conspirators. Intelligence was received of severe proclamations against the members of the church of Rome, in England, and of the hostile declarations of the Scots against that communion. A permission from king Charles to levy men for the Spanish service, and an order to transport for the purpose, the Irish regiments then in Ireland, set these leaders actively to work; they set

* The relation of Lord Maguire.

† Lord Maguire's Narrative.

‡ Ibid.

on foot a violent clamour against the removal of the army, on the adherence of which they relied, and they also availed themselves of the occasion to levy troops as if for Spain. In this, Plunket already mentioned, Hugh Byrne, the wrongs of whose father we have already related, and an officer of the name of O'Neile, volunteered their exertions. To these, Sir James Dillon added his exertions, and gave his concurrence and the weight of his name. From this gentleman, lord Maguire learned the design entertained by himself and his branch of the conspiracy, which was to devote the force they were raising to the defence of the Irish catholics against the Scots; they were to begin by seizing on the castle, where they expected to find abundant supplies of arms and military stores. On their arrival in Dublin, a meeting was held between the principal conspirators and the colonels of the army, who were thus engaged in the same enterprise. At this meeting they discussed the points: how they should secure money to pay the soldiers; how they should obtain foreign succours; how they should draw in the gentry of the pale; who should undertake to surprise the castle, and how it should be attempted. To these points it was respectively answered: that the rents should be collected to pay the soldiery, and that the Pope had promised Tyrone to maintain 6000 men at his own charge; for foreign aid, the promises of the Spanish ambassador in London were alleged; for the gentry of the pale, colonel Plunket answered that they would not be found slow to join in their arms; the seizure of the castle was undertaken by colonels Plunket and Bourne. This meeting was held "in the end of August, 1641, or beginning of September."* And as these colonels were to surprise the castle with no more than 100 men, Sir James Dillon pledged himself to join them in a few days, after they should have succeeded, with 1000 men. It was thought that once seizing the castle, they could command the town with its artillery.

While farther meetings and messages were going on, and the conspirators were yet doubtful when to rise, they received an intimation through Mr Moore, from Owen O'Neile, desiring them to rise without further loss of time, and that he would join them on fourteen days' notice. There nevertheless appears still to have been much irresolution, indicated by numerous abortive meetings and desultory resolutions. At last, on the 5th October, the principal conspirators resolved to attempt the castle on the 23d, which being a market day, the concourse of people would less attract the notice of the government. To the question, as to the leaders in this enterprise, Moore replied that he would be one, and colonel Bourne another; the castle he observed had two gates, that the Leinster men should undertake the small gate, and the Ulster men the other. Sir Phelim O'Neile and lord Maguire attempted to excuse themselves from being present, but Moore insisted. Sir Phelim pleaded the necessity of being away to seize upon Londonderry; but Maguire was compelled to give his consent to be present.

* Lord Maguire's Narrative.

It was a necessary part of their plan, and, in the existing condition of the English garrisons, not unlikely to be crowned with success, that they were similarly, and at the same time, to obtain possession of every important place of strength.

By simultaneous movements on the same day, Londonderry, Carrickfergus, and Newry, were to be surprised, and directions were to be circulated through the country, that the gentry should everywhere rise and seize upon the nearest forts.

On the 22d, one day before that fixed for the attack, the conspirators assembled in Dublin, and met to weigh their strength, and settle the proceedings for the next day. Of 200 men they had counted upon, but 80 had arrived, and it was proposed to delay the attack until the afternoon, to give time for others to come in.

But while they were thus concerting their plan, other incidents were taking place elsewhere.

The council had already received warning from Sir William Cole, of many suspicious indications, such as were sufficient to satisfy all intelligent persons, who were not stupified by the opiate atmosphere of the Castle, that something unusual and dangerous was afloat. The movements of Sir Phelim O'Neile and lord Maguire had been observed. But the Castle crew were unwilling to be roused from the placid slumber of office, and were content to recommend watchfulness to others. On the eve of the rebellion, however, they received a warning not to be trifled with, with impunity.

Owen Conolly, a servant of Sir John Clotworthy, on the evening of the 22d, was seized by the watch, and brought to lord-justice Parsons, and disclosed to him the whole particulars of the conspiracy. Parsons disbelieved the story, it carried the appearance of exaggeration, and it was apparent that the informant was considerably affected by intoxication. He told his tale confusedly, and his answers seemed not consistent. Parsons, perhaps to get rid of him, desired him to go and obtain further discoveries. On cool reflection, however, he thought it expedient to consult with lord Borlase, to whom he forthwith repaired, though it was ten o'clock at night. Borlase, saw the matter in a stronger light, and blamed his colleague for letting O'Conolly go. O'Conolly was however easily found. He had not gone far before his intoxication attracted the notice of the sentinels, and he either was detained or remained for safety. He was found by the messenger of Borlase. He had become a little more collected, but as he was not yet perfectly coherent in his statement, he now represented that his head was affected by the strong potations which had been forced upon him, but that if he were permitted to lie down for a little, he could explain all clearly. He was sent to bed, while the lord Borlase sent round to summon as many of the council as could be found. They were soon joined by Sir Thomas Rotheram, and Sir Robert Meredith the chancellor of the exchequer. Orders were sent to secure the city gates, and strengthen the castle guard, while the lord mayor and city officers received directions to have all persons watched who should appear in the streets.

In the mean time, O'Conolly became collected, and detailed the particulars contained in the following document:—

"Examination of Owen O'Conolly.

"Who being duly sworn and examined, saith; That he being at Monimere, in the county of Londonderry, on Tuesday last, he received a letter from colonel Hugh Oge MacMahon, desiring him to come to Connaught in the county of Monaghan, and to be with him on Wednesday or Thursday last. Whereupon he, this examinant, came to Connaught on Wednesday night last, and finding the said Hugh come to Dublin, followed him thither; he came hither about six of the clock this evening, and forthwith went to the lodging of the said Hugh, to the house near the boat in Oxmantown, and there he found the said Hugh, and came with the said Hugh into the town, near the Pillory, to the lodging of the lord Maguire, when they found not the lord Maguire within, and there they drank a cup of beer and went back to the said Hugh's lodging. He saith, that at the lord Maguire's lodging, the said Hugh told him, that there were and would be this night great numbers of noblemen and gentlemen of the Irish papists, from all parts of the kingdom, in this town; who, with himself, had determined to take the castle of Dublin, and to possess themselves of all his majesty's ammunition there to-morrow morning, being Saturday. And that they intended first to batter the chimnies of said town, and if the citizens would not yield, then to batter down the houses, and so to cut off all the protestants that would not join with them. He further saith, that he the said Hugh told him, that the Irish had prepared men in all parts of the kingdom, to destroy all the English inhabiting there to-morrow morning by ten of the clock; and that in all the seaports and other towns in the kingdom, all the protestants should be killed that night, and that all the posts that could be, could not prevent it. And further saith, that he [O'Conolly] moved the said Hugh to forbear executing of that business, and to discover it to the state, for saving of his own estate, who said, that he could not help it: but said, that they did owe their allegiance to the king, and would pay him all his rights; but that they did this for the tyrannical government that was over them, and to imitate Scotland, who had got a privilege by that course. And he further saith, that when he was with the said Hugh in his lodging, the said Hugh swore that he should not go out of his lodging that night, but told him that he should go with him next morning to the castle; and said, if this matter were discovered, somebody should die for it. Whereupon the examinant feigned some necessity for his leasement, went down out of the chamber, and left his sword in pawn, and the said Hugh sent his man down with him: and when this examinant came down into the yard, and finding an opportunity he, this examinant, leaped over a wall and two pales and so came to the lord-justice Parsons.

| | | |
|----------|-------------------|--------------------|
| (Signed) | "WILLIAM PARSONS, | } OWEN O'CONNOLLY. |
| | "THOMAS ROTHERAM, | |
| | "ROBERT MEREDITH, | |

"Oct. 22, 1641."

While this examination was going on, MacMahon and others were secured; many however escaped seizure, and of those who were taken, some contrived to get away. MacMahon, when brought before the council, spoke plainly. He seems to have relied on the assumption that the insurrection was successful in every other part of the kingdom. It was five in the morning, and he told them "that on that very day, all the forts and strong places in Ireland would be taken."—"That he with the lord Maguire, &c., &c., were come up expressly to seize the castle of Dublin, and that 20 men out of each county in the kingdom were to be there to join them. That all the lords and gentlemen in the kingdom that were papists, were engaged in the plot; that what was that day to be done in other parts of the country, was so far advanced by that time, as it was impossible for the wit of man to prevent it. And withal told them, that it was here they had him in their power and might use him how he pleased, but he was sure he should be revenged."

It is mentioned, that while MacMahon was waiting in the hall, he was observed to amuse himself with chalking out the figures of men hanging on gibbets, or lying prostrate on the ground. The act was probably designed to convey a threat, by the only means left at the moment.

While the justices were yet at lord Borlase's dwelling, at Chichester house in College green, then without the city gates, they were found by Sir Francis Willoughby, the governor of the fort of Galway. Arriving that evening he found the gates shut and noticed an unusual appearance of movement and bustle in the surrounding suburbs. Being apprised that the justices were there he hastened to find them.

He informed them that he had found the country quiet along his way; but that there was a very considerable concourse of strange horsemen pouring into the suburbs. And advised their removal into the castle.

The lords-justices, having removed into the castle at Willoughby's advice, appointed him commander of the castle and city. And sent out a proclamation into all parts of the country to put the peaceful and loyal on their guard.

"Thus," observes Carte, "by the hand of Providence rather than by the care of the government, was defeated a design, easy in the execution, and which, if it had taken effect, would have endangered the whole kingdom." The castle was guarded by eight infirm soldiers and forty halberdiers, and contained 1500 barrels of powder, with ball and other arms in proportion, and 35 cannon.*

We must for the present refer the subsequent events to other memoirs, and return to Moore. On the night of the incidents above narrated he made his escape, and directed his course to Ulster, where he thought his presence most necessary. While there he is supposed to have been the author of a manifesto which shortly after made its appearance, stating the complaints of the Roman catholics and their motives in taking arms. Such documents need not be here quoted, as in all such

* Carte.

cases, they can only be regarded as specious, and for the purpose of giving the fairest or most popular outside to a cause. With regard to Moore, we believe him to have been sincere in all that he professed, and far from the execrable purposes which have been imputed to many engaged in that rebellion. His wish was but justice, according to the notions he entertained, and he had chimerically assumed that justice could be executed strictly, and humanity preserved by the sword of insurrection—a dream, which has often deluded the enthusiastic and high-minded, who little know or are capable of knowing the instruments they must use and the passions they are about to awaken. In his manifesto, Moore dwelt upon the oppression of the Roman catholics by inferior governors—acknowledged that they had been indulged with liberty of conscience, by the favour of the king; but complains of the fears which they had reason to entertain from the landing of the Scots, who were expected to land “with sword and Bible,” for the extinction of the Roman catholic religion in Ireland. They complain of a design against the “papist and protestant bishops of the kingdom,” and propose “that the king should secure them and the protestants of this kingdom,” &c. We have quoted the above words from this paper for the purpose of showing the peculiar ground which was at first taken up by the more moderate of Moore’s party. And it is necessary to notice, that the word protestant is often used by the Roman catholics in their writings of that period, in contra-distinction from the puritans.

It appears indeed, plain enough, from the general tenor, both of the public declarations and conduct of Roger Moore and his associates, that they neither designed nor anticipated the frightful scenes which were to follow. Rebellion as it advances, rapidly numbers in its ranks all the extreme views and all the atrocious passions of human nature. As the movement advances, it grows broad and deep; and its constituent elements become more fierce, unrefined, and base. The philosophers and politicians, the soldiers, scholars, and gentlemen, are soon pushed aside to make way for the ruffianly and reckless spirits, which ever take the lead in popular movements; and such was the course of these events which are now so long to fill our pages.

Moore’s activity and genius had propagated an impulse, which was ere long to escape from his control. On the other side, the danger was increased by the incapacity of government, and the want of all the ordinary resources of civil control; there was neither justice, prudence, nor vigour, to meet it at the source. Instead of a formidable resort to military means or a fair disposition to redress reasonable complaints, a strife of intrigue and insidious negotiation commenced the contest. The memorials presented to the king were mixed with complaints against the lords-justices; these in their turn sent private statements to the earl of Leicester; and their statements were largely mingled with misrepresentation. They also harassed and impeded the proceedings of the parliament which was sensible of the approaching crisis, and disposed to act with spirit tempered by moderation.

If, indeed, it may be said with truth, that the insurgent party were ignorant of the consequences which they were to draw upon themselves

and their country, there seems every reason to suspect that the Irish government was equally infatuated. They either underrated the danger, (the common error of governments,) or they ignorantly wished to push the rebellion to an extremity of which they computed the advantages. The errors were probably concurrent. The result was an effort to impede such information as might be expected to bring succour from England, and to check the loyalty of the well-affected. They had with difficulty been prevailed upon to call a parliament; and when it had assembled, they were so anxious to get rid of it, that they would hardly allow time for a vote of supply. The parliament drew up a spirited declaration against the rebellion, and appointed agents to inquire and report the state of matters to the king and council; but they were not allowed the time required for the completion of this proceeding. A second day was allowed on much entreaty by the obstinacy of the lords-justices. And the parliament, finding itself suspected, or divining the real motive, and resolved on discharging its duty to the public, passed a vote empowering them to levy forces for the defence of the kingdom, and to raise money by assessment for the purpose.

Lord Dillon of Costello was appointed to present a memorial to the king, containing complaints against the lords-justices, and recommending the appointment of the earl of Ormonde. It is also probably conjectured,* that they recommended the adoption of those just measures for the security of property, which could not fail to be unacceptable to the party then at the helm. But the industry of the castle was alert in the vocation of intrigue. In the very same packet which conveyed lord Dillon with his commission, the agent of Parsons and Borlase conveyed their counter-statements and their representations of the design and characters of the opposed part of the council, whose names are given by Carte and others—Sir Richard Bolton the lord chancellor, Bulkeley, archbishop of Dublin, earl of Ormonde, Anthony Martin, bishop of Meath, John Leslie bishop of Raphoe, Robert lord Dillon of Kilkenny West, afterwards lord Roscommon, and Sir Gerard Lowther, judge of the common pleas. These persons who were for acting by the only rational and just way, and employing military rigour to suppress violence, and legislative justice to quiet just discontents, were denounced by the narrow and self-interested lords-justices, whose representations were but too successful. Declaring their distrust in the eminent persons whom we have enumerated, and the danger of employing any force levied in Ireland or commanded by Irishmen, they entreated for an English army, of which they proposed to supply the expense by confiscations.†

The packet was met by a storm, and cast upon the Scottish coast. Lord Dillon and lord Taaffe, the agents of the moderate party, while proceeding on their way to London, were seized at Ware, and their papers taken from them and suppressed: after which they were confined for some months, until their escape was considered of no consequence.

* Carte.

† Carte, I. 228.

IN ORDER to be well-versed upon arrangements to Roger Moore and his party. The intention of the parliament left them without any counter-check. He turned to the Irish government to oppose the activity of the rebel leaders who had volunteered against them. But there was a weakness in the plan. The selfish policy adopted by the Irish government, from a deep weight of the consequences into the scale of their power. They were obliged to proceed, and they were advancing a movement for the rebels. Moore and his Danish and Atherton, with a party of 100 men, to the rebellion and learned that they were now free to do as they pleased. They were yet in the absence of a powerful effort to give the appearance of strength; and their movement was increased by a commission from parliament sent to them with them. In their movement they crossed this overture with a movement which increased nearly enough their confidence in themselves. Moore and his party were not from any conjecture, was not sure of the help of his own movement: he was by far too well informed, however, and proved that he was not so sure that his present strength lay in the absence of an enemy. He strongly urged the fully of declarations against the English, which the monks who followed him had suggested. He had advised that they should mainly rest their cause on religious grievances. With this view he also gave them the dignified title of *Catholic Army*, a somewhat artificial, and equally illustrative of his enthusiasm and industry. There never was a more disastrous pretext for Ireland, or more fortunately adopted for the views of the rebel leaders. It not only served to conceal the secret motives and put them out of view, but tended to attract to their standard many who would most resolutely have opposed them; and above all, it embodied the real grievances of some of the most considerable bodies in the kingdom. The priesthood were counted on as their most efficient and trusty friends and the Roman catholic lawyers, whose influence pervaded the Irish aristocracy, and whose professional employment was restricted by the oaths they were required to take, were also to be conciliated. The English parliament had proceeded with a harshness against the English Roman catholics, which added motives of terror to those of grievance; and Parsons had been said to declare in a large company, that "within a twelvemonth not a catholic should be seen in Ireland."

Such were, in brief, the circumstances which gave to Moore's expedition the force of a universal call to arms, and subsequently led to the most hapless direction of popular fanaticism—a fatal instrument, which has never been successful for good, though it has often forged an iron crown, and riveted the chains of those who are its dupes: under its insane influence—the lunacy of nations—deeds have been done, of fear, desperation, and blind resentment, which the plain rule of justice, unresponsive of refined distinctions, must for the interests of mankind treat as guilt; although the decision of the historian, who is allowed to weigh men's actions in the balance of determining motives and causes, may temper his judgment with the palliation of error, infatuation, and the panic of insane excitement, which, when it seizes the crowd, seems to awaken and concentrate the worst passions of man's nature into

something more fierce and formidable than belongs to and other known living species.

The violent proceedings of the English commons, and the policy of the rebel leaders, as here described, was rendered still more productive of evil by the first measures of the lords-justices. While they repelled the aid of the nobility and gentry of Ireland, they had recourse to that of persons who were recommended by their thorough participation in the views and prejudices of their employers. A soldier of fortune trained in the former rebellion of Ulster, led a small force against a party of rebels which had invested the castle of Wicklow. These were easily repelled; but the soldiers of the lords-justices committed the most unprovoked outrages upon the people of the town, and thus gave a premature specimen of the mercy to be expected from these men. They sent an undisciplined body of 650 men to the relief of Drogheda, and thus afforded the rebel leaders the opportunity of a triumph, which served to increase and encourage their followers. And, lastly, they crowned the offence which their whole conduct had given to the Roman catholic lords of the pale, by an insulting exhibition of distrust.

These noblemen, sensible of the approaching commotion and of their own dangerous and questionable position, between their own party and a suspicious and bigoted administration, chose their course with decision and prudence. They prepared at once to embark in the cause of order, loyalty, and the constitution. They had already joined in the vain effort to urge the castle to its duty: they now offered their services. They were met by shallow insidiousness and demonstrations of treachery, too thinly disguised to escape detection; their offers were refused, they were neither allowed to fight for the protection of the state, nor in their own defence: they were desired to stand out naked and defenceless, spurned by one side and a mark for the other. They were disarmed, menaced, and insulted; and withal, the course of things was such as to render it quite evident that the creed which made them objects of all this degradation, must soon assume the form and character of crime. Their position was one of extreme trial; and their conduct is here to be reviewed with humane allowance.

Of these circumstances, favourable for his purpose, Roger Moore was on the watch to take advantage. The lords of the pale met and sent a temperate letter of remonstrance, in which they adverted to the rejection of their services against the rebels, and complained that language had been used in council such as to deter them from waiting upon the lords-justices, &c. To this the lords-justices replied by a proclamation, in which they denied the alleged words; and presently summoned the lords Fingal, Gormanston, Slane, Dunsany, Netterville, Louth, and Trimleston, to attend at a board, on the 17th December, that they might confer with them.

On this, the lords thus summoned, with the principal gentry of the county of Meath, assembled to consult on the hill of Crofty. They had not long been there when they were approached by Roger Moore, attended by colonel MacMahon, and other rebel gentlemen, with a guard of

musqueteers. The lords of the pale rode out to meet them, and lord Gormanston asked why they thus entered the pale in arms? Roger Moore replied—They came, he said, to vindicate their liberty of conscience: that they were armed in defence of the king's prerogative which had been invaded; and also with the design to make the Irish as free as the people of England. On this lord Gormanston asked if these were their genuine designs?—whether they had not some other private ends of their own? This Moore denied: on which lord Gormanston rejoined that these were their common interests, and that they would join them. And all present having agreed, a warrant was thereupon drawn up and issued to the sheriff, to summon all the lords and gentry of the county, to a general meeting in the next week upon Tara hill.

We shall have again to enter into a minute detail of the incidents here briefly noticed. As the insurrection thus mainly raised by the instrumentality of Roger Moore, acquired more numerous and powerful leaders, his instrumentality becomes less apparent. Colder hearts and wiser heads—motives more profound, long-sighted, and corrupt—more exasperated passions took their usual places in the council of interested and angry spirits. As they gather in numbers and authority, dissension and divided counsels rose up among them; and the power, influence, and personal ambition of individuals, became ruling springs of the conduct of the party. We may then shortly pass to the end of Moore's career.

The rebellion had, as we have already said, as it extended, yielded to the common law of all unorganized and irregular movements; it lost power as it gathered numerical weight, and was weakened by the varied opinions, principles, and objects, of its influential movers. The English commons, though little disposed to waste their strength upon this country's tumults, and misled by opposite representations, began to supply the means of opposition, men, money, and stores, though with a parsimony ill suited to the state of affairs. However, by the skill, promptness, and bravery, of many distinguished officers, the tide began to be turned, and the rebels became considerably distressed. The Irish chiefs were on the point of abandoning a cause which they began to think hopeless, when their courage was rallied and their hopes revived by the long desired arrival of colonel Owen O'Neill. To increase it still further, several vessels from France landed abundant supplies of arms and ammunition, and a considerable Irish force, with numerous officers who had acquired experience and reputation in foreign service.

Of this advantage, the first use made by the Irish was an effort to give authority and method to their proceedings. The details of this change we are compelled to reserve for a memoir yet to come in its order. The clergy saw their time: they also saw the necessity of infusing order into confused movements, of establishing some source of civil rule, of directing desultory efforts, and of controlling the fierceness of fanaticism. They convened a synod in Kilkenny, and framed a body of acts, among which the principal provided for a national convention of deputies to meet for the government of the country. This

assembly met, and gave form, and for a time vigorous instrumentality to the proceedings of the rebellion. They made declarations, constituted authorities, appointed councils, and distributed commands.

In the division of commands, the first movers were passed by:—persons of desperate fortune and active spirit may be permitted to embrace a desperate cause. But they must be set aside, when the appearance of success brings forward more wary and prudent observers, whose means and authority enable them to give weight to the cause, and render the declaration of their sentiments desired.

Moore began to sink in spirits and health as he fell in estimation and influence. His enthusiasm had been damped by the disapprobation of the conduct and slow progress of a war of which he now began to discern the true course. His humanity and gallantry had been shocked by the savage and brutal spirit which began to manifest itself among the rebels, and which neither his zealous opposition, nor that of other commanders, men of honour and humanity, had the power to control. He had been discontented and disgusted; and after the siege of Drogheda, withdrew to Flanders. At that affair he had been attacked by his own party for attempting to control their brutality. After the convention, which established a supreme council at Kilkenny, he returned only to find himself wholly set aside by inferior persons, who dreaded his energy, and were jealous of his commanding character. They thought it necessary to soothe his bitterness and appease his wounded pride by empty show of respect. He soon fell ill, and died in Kilkenny, and his death is not without reason attributed to mortification.

"He was," writes Carte, "a man of a fair character, highly esteemed by all that knew him, and had so great a reputation for his abilities among the Irish in general, that he was celebrated in their songs; and it was a phrase among them, 'God and our Lady be our assistance, and Roger Moore.' He exceedingly detested the cruelties committed by the Irish in Ulster; and when he afterwards got to Sir Phelim O'Neile, he did all he could to stop them, and to establish a regular discipline among his mobbish army."*

We shall have but too many occasions to present many and varied details of the disgusting and flagitious atrocities of this long rebellion, of the commencement of which we have given a slight sketch. But we cannot forbear taking this occasion to offer one observation as to the cause of these revolting enormities, which our perusal of the history of Irish rebellions has strongly suggested. The laws which make the rebel a criminal amenable to a species of summary justice, not extended to ordinary crimes, or executed by the laws of the land, are perhaps quite defensible on the ground of abstract theory, nor can we object to their strict justice. But they answer no good or expedient purpose; and fearfully aggravate the horrors and calamities of civil war. They do no good; the rebel marches to the field in defiance of death, and in anticipation of a different result: the law which makes a traitor of him is simply vindictive, it never deterred a single rebel from the field. Its real effects are twofold: to the rebel's discontent it

* Carte.

and other motives, the law of negotiation and revenge; the conscious sacrifice of the interests of the state to instant needs, or even worse than both. This however, if it were all, would not deal for our nation;—the great evil is the vindictive spirit of the great and savage revolution. The military execution, even when attended with the most rapid regard of justice and humanity, is not viewed as justice by those who, right or wrong, consider justice to be in their own case, and are little capable of entertaining distinctions. For every person who is judged as a criminal, and meets a felon's death, some victim is sure to suffer. This victim may be also a prisoner, and the revolution may for a time be conducted with military order, and not pass the strict limit of a balanced account. But for the evil done on the troops employed by government, and renders their capture somewhat different in its result from that of regular war. But it deepens, when rebellion happens to be provoked, when conditions arise. The issues on both sides become highly influenced with the irritation in which many violent errors and incidents will inevitably give birth. Executions become more summary and more vindictive, brutal tempers never wanting to the parent cause, are brought into activity, and excesses are committed by angry soldiers; these unhappy and fatal demonstrations, which do no honour to a cause, are not allowed to remain unbalanced in the account of blood; executions of criminal or of suspected persons, inflicted without discretion are repeated by massacres without discrimination or mercy. And as every phase of civil disturbance brings its appropriate spirits into the field, the country becomes a scene of diabolical outrage against every claim of humanity.

The evil is increased by the want of prudence and vigour on the part of governments, which so often has been observed to precede rebellion. In their first alarm, the civil powers give way too far, and instead of meeting the evil in its commencement, rather oppose the loyal parties than those whom they have most reason to fear. Among the most common and dangerous errors thus committed, that which most aggravates the ills here noticed, is the mistake of disarming those who are the persons mainly to be defended, and who are sure to be the first objects of attack. This has been too frequently done, by regulations which bear unequally, on the peaceful and disorderly; no precaution of an Irish government has ever extended so far as spoil the equipments of a rebel army.

Sir Phelim O'Neile.

BORN A. D. 1604.—EXECUTED A. D. 1641.

SIR PHILIM O'NEIL, of Kinard, in Tyrone, was, at the time which brings him into historic notice, the principal person of his name in Ireland. He was grandson of Sir Henry O'Neile, who was slain in the action against Sir Cahir O'Doherty, in 1608. The services of Sir

Henry had been acceptable to the government, and he had received a grant of the district called Sir Henry Gage's country.* On his death Sir Phelim was found to be his next heir. On coming of age, he applied to have a new grant, specially naming the lands which were comprised in more general designations in his grandfather's grant; on which, in 1629, a new instrument was made out according to his desire.

He entered as a student at Lincoln's Inn, and while in England professed the protestant religion; he is, however, believed to have changed on his return. Having entered on his property, he soon launched into a career of waste and dissipation, and did not cease until he had nearly wasted his ample property; which he was compelled to encumber nearly to its full value. In consequence, he was for some years exposed to embarrassments, which seldom fail to corrupt and harden persons of strong passions and weak understanding, and add no small amount of vice to those follies of which they were the result.

Hugh, earl of Tyrone, died in 1616, leaving a son, who was married, but had no children. Sir Phelim, who was considered next heir, had thereby a new and vast prospect opened to his ambition. Roger Moore found him thus prepared to listen with eager avidity to proposals which were gilded in perspective, with the title and princely possessions of Tyrone. Such were the hopes with which Sir Phelim became the most active partisan of the proceedings of 1641, and entered on a course which soon led him to the scaffold.

In the first movements of 1641, while the insurrection was yet but in its projection, Sir Phelim's house was a central resort for the meetings of the conspirators; thither Moore, and Plunket, and lord Maguire used to come; and from thence messengers were soon observed to be dispatched to all quarters of the compass. Such was the information given by Sir Wm. Cole, in a letter to the lords-justices, on the 11th October, 1641; and we find it confirmed in lord Maguire's narrative, who mentions that he was asked to attend the funeral of Sir Phelim's wife, with a view to "confer with Sir Phelim touching all these proceedings." Sir Phelim next appears as one of the five who met in Dublin to plan the seizure of the castle; on which occasion Maguire and a few more were seized, while the main conspirators escaped.

Some time in the same month, Sir Phelim achieved an exploit which exhibits his character in no honourable point of view. It has been already mentioned, that on the first meetings of Sir Phelim with Moore and his associates, it was planned, on the same day that the castle was to be surprised, to obtain by similar means, possession of all the forts and garrisons in the provinces. It was allotted to Sir Phelim to secure the forts and garrisons of Ulster. Of these, Charlemont fort was under the command of Sir Tobias Caulfield, lord Charlemont, then a very old man. Sir Phelim was his neighbour, and as such was on the most intimate footing of hospitable intercourse, as hospitality was

* Carte.

THE PRISONERS HAD BEEN SECURED BY MEN LIKE THOSE TO WHOM WE HAVE
 ALLUDED: AND WITH THEIR OFFICERS WERE EITHER KILLED OR IMPRISONED. WE
 HAVE NO MEANS OF ASCERTAINING THEIR FATE, BUT IT MAY BE CONJECTURED FROM
 THE FOLLOWING INCIDENT. AFTER THE EARL HAD FOR UPWARDS OF FOUR MONTHS
 BEEN IN PRISON, WITH HIS DAUGHTER, SISTERS, AND BROTHERS, SIR PHELM SEPARATED
 THEM FROM THEM, AND SENT THEM AWAY TO KILLEENANE, THE HOUSE OF
 LAWRENCE NETHERVILLE. THE UNHAPPY LORD RECEIVED THIS CRUEL DEPRIVATION,
 AS THE WARNING OF DANGER, AND SHOWED NO SMALL EARNESTNESS TO
 RETAIN ABOUT HIS PERSON SOME ONE ON WHOM HE MIGHT RELY. HAVING
 ENTREATED THAT MAJOR DORY SHOULD BE LEFT WITH HIM, SIR PHELM ANSWERED,
 AND THE ANSWER MUST HAVE SOUNDED STRANGELY FROM HIS FALSE TONGUE,
 THAT MAJOR DORY WAS A TRAITOR; BUT ASSURED THE EARL THAT HE SHOULD
 "HAVE BETTER COMPANY BEFORE NIGHT." BEFORE NIGHT HE WAS COMMITTED
 TO THE CHARGE OF CAPTAIN NEILE, MODDER O'NEALE, AND OTHERS OF THE
 SAME NAME AND STAMPT, TO CONVEY HIM TO CLOUGHOUTER CASTLE. HE WAS
 HURRIED OFF WITHOUT DELAY; AT NIGHT-FALL THE COMPANY AND THEIR PRISONER
 REACHED SIR PHELM'S OWN CASTLE OF KINARD. IT WAS A PLACE APTLY CHOSEN
 FOR THE MURDER OF ONE WHOSE HOSPITALITY HE HAD OUTRAGED. THEY WERE
 ENTERING THE HALL DOOR, WHERE THE VICTIM HAD OFTEN ENTERED AS AN HON-
 OURED AND WELCOME GUEST, WHEN THE CONCERTED SIGNAL WAS SPOKEN.
 CAPTAIN NEILE M'KENNA OF THE TROUGH IN MONAGHAN, WHO WALKED ON
 ONE SIDE OF THE EARL, TURNED TO EDMUND ROY O'HUGH, SIR PHELM'S FOSTER-

brother, and said "where is your heart now?" O'Hugh answered the signal by discharging his gun into the back of the earl who, receiving the contents, exclaimed "Lord have mercy on me," and fell dead across the threshold of his betrayer. The crime was followed up by another as revolting. On the same night, a number of Sir Phelim's own tenants and servants, who were English and Scotch, were massacred by the same abandoned band of ruffians. Among the murdered was a son of Sir Phelim's, whose mother was an Englishwoman.

This tragic incident took place 1st March, 1641. A curious story is told by Lodge or his commentator, from some old book. We shall add it here in the words of the teller. On the perfidious visit of Sir Phelim which we have just described, when the company were met, "The Butler, an old and trusty servant, remarked that the assassin with his accomplices and the noble family, made up the odd number of *thirteen*; and observed with dread and concern, that the murderers had often changed their seats and their countenances, with the exception of the bravo himself, who kept his place on the left hand of lord Caulfield as he was wont to do, being an intimate acquaintance. The butler took an opportunity, whilst they were at dinner, to acquaint his lady with the causes of his uneasiness; telling her that he dreaded some direful event. She rebuked his fears, told him he was superstitious, asked if the company were merry, and had every thing they wanted. He answered that he had done his duty; they all seemed very merry, and wanted nothing he knew of but grace; and since her ladyship was of opinion that his fears were groundless, he was resolved, through a natural impulse he felt, to take care of his own person. And thereupon instantly left the house, and made the best of his way to Dublin."*

Such was the first exploit of Sir Phelim O'Neile. On the same night many similar successes were obtained, but none by means so base. From Charlemont fort O'Neile proceeded to Dungannon, which he surprised and seized without any resistance; the castle of Mountjoy was surprised by one of his followers; Tanderage by O'Hanlon; Newry was betrayed to Sir Con Magennis; Roger Maguire, brother to lord Maguire, overran Fermanagh; lord Blaney's castle, in Monaghan, was surprised by the sept of MacMahon, and the lord with his family made prisoners by the MacMahons. In Cavan, the insurrection was headed by Mulmore O'Reily, sheriff of the county, and all the forts and castles seized by the *posse comitatus*, under the pretence of legal authority and the king's service. His example was followed by the sheriff of Longford. Insurrection had not as yet put forth its horrors, neither had its vindictive spirit been inflamed, or the fanaticism which was to infuse its fiendish character at a further stage as yet been called into action. It was as yet an insurrection of lords and gentlemen; nor is there any reason to believe, that any thing more was designed by these, than a partial transfer of property, and certain stipulations in favour of the church of Rome.

By these successes, Sir Phelim soon found himself at the head of an

* Lodge.

army of 30,000 men, and of ten counties. On the 5th of November, he took up his head quarters at Newry, and endeavoured to give a legal colour to his conduct, by the declaration, that he took up arms by the authority, and for the service of the king. To authenticate this pretension, he exhibited a parchment to which he had cunningly appended a great seal, which he contrived to obtain while at Charlemont fort, from a patent of lord Charlemont's. This fact was afterwards proved, both by the confession of Sir Phelim, and by the production of the very patent a few years after, in a lawsuit in Tyrone assizes, where the marks of the seal having been torn away, together with an indorsement to the same effect, confirmed this statement.*

In the mean time, no measures of a sufficiently decisive nature were taken against the rebels. The lords-justices appear to have been infatuated by some fallacious security, and perhaps were diverted from a sense of their danger by interested speculations of the future consequences of rebellion. Such speculations are, indeed, but too likely to have arisen; for it was only the after events of the long civil wars in England, that prevented the rebellion of 1641 from following the ordinary course of former rebellions. But so far were the lords-justices from manifesting any true sense of the emergent position of events, that they not only acted remissly themselves, but interposed to prevent the activity and courage of such noblemen and gentry of the pale as were inclined to arm in their own defence. The earl of Ormonde volunteered his service, and pressed earnestly to be allowed to lead whatever men they could spare him against the rebels. This was not acceded to; and the lords-justices, pressed by the remonstrances of every loyal tongue, contented themselves by sending a regiment to the relief of Drogheda, which was then besieged by 4000 rebels.

The English parliament was still less desirous of giving peace to Ireland. The rebellion favoured their views, and could, they knew, be suppressed whenever it suited their own purposes to send an army into the country. It gave them, however, a pretext for the levy of men and money to be employed against the king, and of this they availed themselves largely.

The pale, and the protestant nobility and gentry, were thus left to their own courage and means of resistance. They quickly threw off their fears and their false security, and took up arms in their own defence. Their resolution and energy, however great, were in some measure paralyzed by the uncertain conduct of the king, and by the false pretences of the rebel leaders, who assumed his name and authority. Yet they began to fortify their castles and to defend the towns, and the progress of the rebels began to be more difficult, and to be interrupted by numerous checks and disappointments.

Sir Phelim and his associate conspirators had been raising a strong force against themselves; the fugitives which their first successes had rolled together into Carrickfergus, were embodied and armed into a force, which, if inferior in numbers to the rebels, was far superior in moral force and discipline. From these colonel Chichester garrisoned

* Carte.

Carrickfergus, Derry, Belfast, and other principal places of strength. A reinforcement of 1500 men from Scotland gave added force to the whole. Sir Phelim's people were defeated in many places. He was himself repelled with slaughter from before the walls of castle Derrick, in the county of Tyrone, and fled to his camp at Newry, in mortification and disgrace.

From this, Sir Phelim's conduct is to be distinguished for its violence and cruelty. Some historians attribute the murders committed by his order, to a design to secure the fidelity of his people, by dipping them in guilt beyond the expectation of forgiveness. The love of plunder had brought the common people to his standard, and he very well understood that there was no other motive so likely to preserve their fidelity, as the desperation of crime beyond the hope of mercy. By some this counsel has been imputed to Ever MacMahon, one of his followers, and titular bishop of Down, on the authority of a deposition of a Mr Simpson of Glaslogh. But with Carte, we are inclined to attribute the crimes of this person to the evil passions of his nature, upon the strong ground, that they appear to have chiefly followed upon occasions of ill success. On such occasions where his followers met with a check—when any thing in the camp caused irritation, and sometimes when he was drunk, it was usual for him to be seized with a violent fit of rage bordering upon phrenzy, during which he frequently gave orders for the murder of his prisoners. Some of these ruffian-like acts are enumerated by Carte, and we shall give them in his language. "In some of these frantic fits, he caused Mr Richard Blaney, knight of the shire of Monaghan, to be hanged in his own garden, and the old lord Charlemont to be shot; in another, when the rebels were repulsed in the attack of the castle of Augher, and several of the sept of the O'Neiles slain, he ordered Mulmory Mac-Donell, to kill all the English and Scotch within the parishes of Mullebrack, Logilley, and Kilduney; in another, when he heard of the taking of Newry by lord Conway, he went in the beginning of May, in all haste, to Armagh, and in breach of his own promise under his own hand and seal, at the capitulation, murdered a hundred persons in the place, burnt the town and the cathedral church—a venerable and ancient structure said to be built by St Patrick, and called by a name revered enough among the Irish, to have been an effectual protection to a place dedicated to his honour—and fired all the villages and houses of the neighbourhood, and murdered many of all ages and sexes, as well in the town as in the country round about."

From this, all pretence to humanity was at an end: once adopted there is no end to cruelty. It will be justified by the assertion of its justice, and will be maintained by the furious passions of men dipped in lawless murder. The rebel soldier was not slow to catch the spirit of his chief, and to glory in atrocities which came recommended by a sanction he could not but respect. Even cows and sheep were tortured for being English, and were not saved by the growing necessity which they might have been used to supply. "Cruel and bloody measures," writes Carte, "seldom prosper:" from the commencement of this course of cruel conduct, Sir Phelim's successes were at an end.

Whatever may be the value of Mr Carte's maxim, it seems quite reconcilable to every thing we know of the laws of human nature; an army steeped in crimes, which demand the help of the worst passions of man for their perpetration, cannot be the fit organ of moral discipline; it can have no calm energy, no sense of honour, or of an honourable, high, or holy cause. Some savage state can, it is true, be conceived, debased by a faith, atrocious by some fell rule of wrong; these may be hordes who worship the powers of evil, and are bound by fanaticism of some black and hell-born hue. The Christian, however misled, is taught to act on other grounds, even his illusions preserve the name of a holy cause; his crimes are in the defiance of his conscience, and his creed: the plundering and the licentious butcheries only sanctioned by cupidity—revenge, and the blood-thirsty excitement of an uncontrolled rabble, the most dangerous and disgraceful phenomenon in the known compass of things, could never be consistent with the moral discipline which is the best strength of armies. The army of Sir Phelim, terrible henceforth to the defenceless, were chaff before the smallest force that could be brought into contact with them. The rabble who followed him, expressed their designs in language, which requires no commentary. They declared that "they would not leave an English man in the country; that they would have no English king, but one of their own nation, and Sir Phelim O'Neile should be their king, . . . that if they had his majesty in their power, they would flay him alive," &c. Such were the frantic professions of this vile mob, as has been proved from several depositions, perused by Carte.

Among the grievous consequences of these excesses, one was, that they called forth some lamentable instances of retaliation. Among the English and Scotch a horror of the Irish spread to every rank; the report of such barbarities appeared to degrade the perpetrators below the level of human nature. They also excited the worst passions among the inferior classes of the opposite party. The Scotch garrison at Carrickfergus, possessed both by their habitual hatred to popery, and inflamed to an implacable detestation of the Irish, by multiplied accounts of their cruelties, horrible in themselves, and exaggerated not only by the sufferers, but by those wretches who boasted and magnified their own barbarities. In one fatal night, they issued from Carrickfergus into an adjacent district, called Island Magee, where a number of poor Irish resided, unoffending and untainted by the rebellion. Here, according to the statement of a leader in this party, they massacred thirty poor families. This incident has been, as might be expected, misstated in all its particulars, both as to the number of the sufferers and the date of the occurrence. Leland, by far the most accurate and scrupulous writer on our history, ascertains the true particulars from the MS. "depositions of the county of Antrim," preserved in the College Library; and states, that instead of happening in November, this incident took place in the beginning of the following January, when the followers of Sir Phelim "had almost exhausted their barbarous malice."* We should add, that Carte cannot, as Leland

* Leland, iii. 128.

thinks, be properly said to favour the assertion, that this massacre took place in November: without entering on the question as to its date, he quotes the assertion from a book entitled, *The Politician's Catechism*, in order to show from numerous facts, that it was not "the first massacre in Ireland, on either side,"* and on this Mr Carte is quite conclusive. We also think it fair to state, that one historical writer, whom we have consulted, questions the accuracy of Leland's investigation of the college MS.; but from the uniform tone of acrid misrepresentation in which this writer deals, we have not thought fit to adduce an opinion which we should be compelled to investigate at a very disproportioned length. The importance of the point has been overstated in the heat of party recrimination. When crimes on either side must be admitted, priority is of little importance; it cannot justify those who cannot be justified, but by the denial of every principle of right and wrong.

As we have observed, the moral effect of these atrocities was fatal to the army of Sir Phelim. They soon became only formidable to the unarmed and helpless. The horror diffused by their crimes, armed against them many who would willingly have remained inert, and drew from the Irish government, the English parliament, and the protestant gentry, efforts of opposition and resistance which soon effectually checked their advances. Of the wide spread scene of waste, disorder and danger amounting to the disruption of society, of which such a state of things was productive, an ample and striking description is contained in Borlase's account. Every private house seems to have been something in the condition of a besieged fortress—and a scene of protracted terror and watchfulness, or of heroic courage and constancy. "Great were the straits many of them were put unto, enduring all manner of extremities, subjecting themselves to all kind of dangers; not daunted with the multitude of rebels that lay about them, they in many places issued out, and lived only on the spoils they took from them, fighting continually for their daily bread, which they never wanted, so long as their enemies had it. The rebels were so undexterous in the management of their sieges, as they took very few places by force; in all their attempts whether by mine, battery, or assault, they seldom prospered. The great engine by which they mastered any fort of the English, was treachery; offers of safe conduct, and other conditions of honour and advantage, which might induce the besieged, sometimes reduced to the utmost extremities, to surrender their places into their hand; which though so solemnly sworn and signed, yet they seldom or never kept."† We forbear entering into the sanguinary recital of these flagrant atrocities, which we should be too glad to have it in our power to reject as the monsters of exaggeration and fear, but which are given upon the authority of depositions, which there is no fair ground for rejecting. Much of the sanguinary spirit manifested by the followers of the rebel chiefs is to be attributed to the irritating consciousness of failure, and the protracted resistance which they so often had to encounter, from seemingly inadequate opponents.

* Carte, i. 76, 77.

† Borlase.

It was in the month of December, 1641, that the rebels, encouraged more by the absence of any hostile demonstrations on the government side than by any successes of their own, came before Drogheda. They had neither the necessary materials for a siege, nor even for an encampment; and, therefore, they were compelled to take their quarters in the surrounding villages, and thus became more formidable to private persons living in the surrounding district than to the city; which was not, however, exempt either from danger or suffering. The numbers of the rebel army amounted to nearly twenty thousand, and they were thus enabled to blockade every avenue, and completely to intercept all supplies. Ill provided for a siege, the governor had still nearer ground for apprehension from the traitors who were suspected to be within his walls. On the night of December 20, the rebels attempted to surprise the city by a sudden and general assault, but were driven back with so much loss that they did not think it advisable to renew the attempt. They were, however, fully aware of the unprepared condition of the city, and the wants of the garrison; and having every reason to hope that they would meet with no interruption from abroad, they expected to obtain possession by starving the garrison.

Within the condition of affairs was indeed low enough to warrant such expectations. The English became diseased from the effects of an unvarnished and scanty diet, and were daily losing their strength and spirits: from this state of want and suffering many escaped over the walls. The officers wrote a letter to the duke of Ormonde, in the hope that the exertion of his influence might extract some relief from the government of the state. About the 11th of January, 1642, the lords-judges sent a scanty and poor supply of food and ammunition, saying that they were unwilling to send more until it should appear that the present supply could obtain entrance. The way was undoubtedly difficult, the entrance to the harbour being narrow, and obstructed by the precaution of the rebels, who had sunk a small vessel in the channel, and drawn a strong chain across from two large ships on either side. Notwithstanding these obstacles, the small and shadow vessels which brought the supply were enabled to pass over the chain, as well as a bar of sand, which, it was conceived, must have obstructed their entrance at low water.

The joy of the garrison at a relief so seasonable was nearly the cause of their ruin: indulging in a premature sense of security, their vigilance became relaxed as their fear abated. The governor, who did not participate in the forgetfulness of the occasion, saw the danger, and took strict care to have the guards visited more frequently during the night; but this did not prevent their sleeping on their posts, for they had been worn by toil and privation, and were, it may be assumed, oppressed with unwearied indolence, and lulled by false security. Treason was, however, at work. Sir Phelim had managed to secure an understanding with some of the inhabitants; and in the war of darkness, when all appeared to favour the unnoticed aid of an enemy, an old door-way, which had been walled up, was opened, and admitted five hundred men picked from all the

companies of the rebel army without. The city lay in silence. The garrison and the people were asleep, and the guards, half asleep, did not look beyond their own immediate watches; all things favoured the attempt, and for half an hour Drogheda was in possession of the enemy. But their conduct was not answerable to the occasion, and was such as to indicate clearly the true character of Sir Phelim's army. There was nothing to prevent their seizing on a gate and admitting Sir Phelim and his forces; they could, without resistance, have seized the artillery on Millmount by which the town was commanded; the garrison could have offered but slight resistance while unprepared. But they never seem to have thought of any course of action; they trusted, probably, as all mobs will ever trust, to the fallacious confidence of numerical force, and supposed themselves to be in possession of the town because they had got in. Their triumph was however unsatisfactory, until it should be made known to their enemies within, and their friends abroad: it was evident that something was wanting to their dark and unknown victory. They manifested their possession of the town by a tremendous shout, which carried astonishment and alarm to every quarter of the town: the sentinels started to their posts, and the little garrison was roused from its dangerous slumber. Sir Henry Tichburne, hearing the rebel cheer, rushed out without waiting to arm, and caused a drum to beat to arms. Heading his own company, which chanced to be the main guard, he advanced to meet the rebel force, and falling in with them quickly, a short struggle took place, in which the rebels, though more numerous by six to one, and also picked men, had the disadvantage in arms and discipline, and were soon forced to retreat in confusion: in the mean time the governor had collected a party of musqueteers, and coming up while the rebels were in this state, by a volley of shot converted their disorder into a precipitate flight. They scattered several ways. About two hundred escaped by the concealed breach at which they had entered, many found concealment in private houses, two hundred fell in the streets. Of the English only three fell in the fight; a few were found slain in different quarters where they had been surprised or turned upon by the flying rebels. Another attempt of the same kind was made on the following night. It may be presumed that it was designed to avoid the errors of that which we have here related; but the vigilance of the garrison had been too well alarmed, and the enemy was beaten off with some loss.

The supply was insufficient, and the garrison of Drogheda soon fell into a condition of the utmost distress. Famine, and its sure attendant disease, more formidable than the enemy, took possession of the town; the men were enfeebled, their numbers thinned by fluxes and other complaints, and they were forced to live on horses, dogs, cats, and every loathsome resource of utter extremity. Sir Phelim saw their condition, and reckoned upon it not unreasonably: he saw that if he could collect a sufficient force, and obtain cannon to batter the walls, that the garrison were little likely to offer any effective resistance. With this view, he left his army and hurried away to the north, promising to return in eight days with eight cannon and a strong reinforcement—

a step which makes it very apparent to how great an extent the remission of the government had become a matter of calculation.

Tichburne, on his part, was fully aware of his danger, and armed himself with heroic resolution. He sent captain Cadogan to Dublin to solicit the needed reinforcements and supplies; and expressed his resolution to hold the town against the enemy while the last morsel of horse-flesh remained, and then to cut his way to Dublin. In the interim he sent out small parties to endeavour to obtain whatever provisions could be thus found, within a short distance of the town. There were in consequence numerous skirmishes with the Irish, in which it was presently ascertained that their resistance was so little formidable, that Tichburne felt he might take more decided steps to supply the wants of his famishing garrison. He sent captain Trevor to a place four miles off, where he had been informed that there were eighty cows and two hundred sheep: the party was successful, and drove this fortunate acquisition without any resistance into the town, where they had not had for some weeks known wholesome aliment. They were thus enabled to hold out for several days; when, on the 20th of February, several ships appeared in the river, containing provisions and troops for their relief. The approach had been guarded against by the precautions of the Irish army, who had, in the mean time, strengthened the impediments which had failed to obstruct the form ersupply. But the day before, a storm had broken the chain, and the sunken vessel had drifted away with the force of the impeded current; there was a spring-tide, and the winds, for many days contrary, had shifted in their favour, and blew fair from the south-east. The transport thus carried on by the combined advantage of wind and tide, passed rapidly from the fire which the Irish kept up, and entered the harbour with the loss of two killed and fourteen wounded. They brought a good supply of provision, and four companies of men.

It so fell out that Sir Phelim returned the same day; he brought two guns and seven hundred men. And disregarding every lesson which the previous incidents of the siege should have taught, he determined upon an assault. It was his plan to carry the walls by escalade, and in this absurd attempt his people were repulsed with such loss as to bring his army into entire contempt. Tichburne, who had hitherto rated his enemy above their real worth, having been all through deceived by numerical disparity, now determined to be no longer the defensive party. After this occurrence, he sallied forth every day with strong parties and looked for the enemy, whom, when found, he always dispersed with ease, so that a few days were sufficient to satisfy the Irish that they could only be cut to pieces in detail by remaining any longer, and they collected their force and marched away on the 8th of March.

Thus ended Sir Phelim's attempt for the capture of Drogheda. We have here related the incidents of this siege with more detail than its importance may appear to deserve, because they are illustrative of the comparative character of the forces employed on either side. It is curious to notice for how long a time their numerical disparity continued to impose on both; and it is evident that the events

which terminated the siege might have equally prevented its commencement, had Tichburne been aware of the true character of the enemy with whom he had to deal.

In the mean time Sir Phelim had been proclaimed a traitor: the ships, of which we have just mentioned the arrival, had brought copies of proclamations offering rewards for his head and that of several others; these were posted in the market-place. He now turned towards the north, the greater part of his army having scattered, and many of his friends being prisoners. A council of war, held by the duke of Ormonde, agreed in the expediency of following up these favourable occurrences with a considerable force now at their command; but the step was countermanded by the lords-justices, who seem to have thought more of goading the lords of the pale to desperation, than of terminating a rebellion to which they seemed to have entertained no objection, unless at intervals when it appeared to menace the existence of their own authority. The duke of Ormonde sent notice to lord Moore and Sir H. Tichburne of the constraint which had been imposed upon his movements, and these gentlemen expressed their astonishment, and "could not possibly conceive what motives could induce the lords-justices to send such orders." They sent a messenger to Dundalk, towards which town Sir Phelim had sent his cannon. This messenger brought back word, "that Sir Phelim O'Neile, and colonel Plunket, had been the day before at that place, and had got together about five hundred men; that they would fain have led them out towards Drogheda, but the men did not care to march; that with great difficulty, and after hanging two of the number, they at last got them out of the town, but as soon as the men found themselves out of the place, and at liberty, they threw down their arms and ran all away; that towards night Sir Phelim himself went away with Plunket, and left three field pieces behind him; and that there were not three gentlemen of quality left in the county of Louth."*

The report of the earl of Ormonde's approach had been sufficient to scatter the rebel force about Atherdee and Dundalk. His recall renewed their courage, and hearing the circumstance, they rallied their forces and resumed the posts they had abandoned. Lord Moore and Tichburne, after reducing the environs of Drogheda as well as their means admitted, directed their march towards Atherdee. About a mile from this town they came in collision with a strong party of nearly two thousand rebels, which they routed without suffering any loss; and, proceeding on their way, occupied the town. Having garrisoned a castle in the vicinity with one hundred and fifty men, to awe the county of Louth, they pursued their march to Dundalk, which Sir Phelim held with a force of eight hundred strong. Sir Henry Tichburne assaulted this town, and carried it by storm with the loss of only eighteen men. Sir Phelim escaped in the dusk of evening.

The state of the Ulster rebels was now become a case of desperation. The town of Newry had been taken by lord Conway, and a

* Carte's Ormonde, I. p. 288.

strong force of Scotch, under Munroe, which had been landed at Carrickfergus. Their encounters with the English troops had been little calculated to raise their hopes; they had received no assistance from Spain, and their means were reduced to the lowest. In the month of April, it is mentioned, Sir Phelim had not in his possession more than "one firkin and a half of powder left;"* the people sent in petitions to be taken to mercy, and their leaders prepared to fly the country. Sir Phelim fled from Armagh, which he burned, to Dungannon, and from Dungannon to Charlemont, while his followers left him and scattered among the passes of Tyrone.

But Munroe had other views, or was not equal to the occasion. Prompt, stern, and peremptory in the assertion of a military control over all persons and places which were not able to resist, he seems to have been deficient in the most obvious and ordinary operations which his position in the face of an insurgent province required. With an army of two thousand five hundred brave and hardy soldiers he continued inert for two months, until Sir Phelim, who was not deficient in activity, once more contrived to rally his scattered friends and soldiers, and made his reappearance in arms. He was joined by Alexander MacDonell, known by the name of Colkitto, and a numerous force collected from Armagh, Tyrone, Fermanagh, and Donegal, together with no inconsiderable remains of his former army. Relying upon this formidable body, and encouraged by the inactivity of the enemy, he marched to attack Sir William and Sir Robert Stewart, June 16. The action was better maintained than usual by the Irish, but in spite of their numbers and personal bravery, they were at length routed with a heavy loss.

It was at this period of the rebellion that colonel Owen O'Neale landed in Donegal with a large supply of arms and ammunition, and what was more wanting, officers and soldiers, and thus gave a very important impulse to the subsiding agitation; his arrival was no less efficient in impairing the authority of Sir Phelim, who had till this event been the chief military leader of the insurrection.

From this a detail of the further events in which Sir Phelim was in any way a party, would lead us into notices which can be more appropriately pursued further on. He was excluded from any leading station by the distribution of the provinces to other commanders, but long continued to maintain a doubtful importance in the rebel councils, more from the influence of his father-in-law, general Preston, than from his own personal influence.

In 1652 he was tried for his life before the commission issued in Dublin, by the Commonwealth, for the trial of the offenders during the rebellion, and his end is more to his honour than any action of his previous life. He received an intimation that a pardon should be the reward of his evidence to prove that king Charles I. had authorized him to levy forces against his government in Ireland. Sir Phelim refused to save himself by a declaration so unwarranted and scandalous. He was accordingly tried and executed for the massacres committed by his authority in 1641.

* Carte, from a letter of Lord Slane's to Lord Gormanstown.

Sir Charles Coote.

SLAIN A.D. 1642.

SIR CHARLES COOTE was descended from a French family of the same name; his ancestor, Sir John Coote, settled in Devonshire. The brave leader whom we have here to notice, came into Ireland at an early age. He served under Mountjoy, in the war against Hugh, earl of Tyrone, and was present at the siege of Kinsale, when he is said by Lodge to have commanded a company: the latter fact we doubt, as his name does not occur among the lists of captains, which Moryson gives; yet it seems to derive some confirmation from the fact of his having been appointed provost marshal of Connaught, by king James, in consideration of his services to queen Elizabeth. The appointment we should observe was but reversionary, and to take effect on the death of captain Wayman, who held the office at the time.

We must pass lightly over the incidents of a long period of Coote's life, which have no sufficient interest for detail. In 1613 he was made receiver of the king's composition-money in Connaught; 1616 he received the honour of knighthood, and the next year had a grant of a Saturday market and two fairs, on the festivals of St James and St Martin, at Fuerty near the town of Roscommon. In 1620 he was vice-president of Connaught; and was sworn of the privy council. In 1621 he was created a baronet of Ireland.* In addition it may be generally stated, that he had received large grants in different counties, and was much employed in various magisterial offices, of which the enumeration and the dates are to be found in all the peerage lists.

He was a colonel of foot in 1640. At the breaking out of the rebellion in 1641, he was one of the earliest and most considerable sufferers. His linen works in Monrath were pillaged, and the entire of his property in that town was destroyed in December 1641. In the Queen's County, in Cavan, in Leitrim, and Sligo, his property every where met the same treatment, to the amount of many thousand pounds; and his estates were so injured as to remain nearly unprofitable till the end of the rebellion.

In 1641 he obtained a commission to raise a thousand men, which he speedily effected. It was during the investment of Drogheda, by a rebel army under Sir Phelim O'Neill, (as related in his life) that the lords-justices, alarmed by the near approach of rebellion in the border county of Wicklow, were compelled to cast aside their inefficiency for a moment; they detached Coote with a small party to the relief of the castle of Wicklow. Coote was no unwilling instrument: he was a man of that rough, stern, and inflammable temper which is easily wrought to fierce and extreme courses by the impatience of resentment. Had he met with no personal injuries, his fiery temper would have been sufficiently excited by his intolerance of disloyalty; but as always must happen, his own wrongs lent animosity to

* Lodge.

the natural indignation of the stern partisan, and his vindictive feelings were disguised under the pretext of a general cause, and the name of just retribution; for by this time the fiendlike atrocities of Sir Phelim O'Neile, had excited general terror and pity. With his own implacable resentment burning in his heart, Sir Charles marched to avenge the victims of O'Neile's cruelty, and to strike terror into the rising spirit of insurrection.

The rebels had some days before surprised Cary's fort, Arklow and Chichester forts—had besieged the houses of all the English gentry in the surrounding country, and had committed great slaughter upon the inhabitants—and were actually on their march to Dublin. At the approach of Coote, they retired and scattered among the Wicklow mountains. He pursued his march to Wicklow, the rebels possessed the town and had invested the castle, which was in a condition of extreme distress. They did not wait to be attacked, but retired on the appearance of the English soldiers. Coote entered the town and caused numerous persons to be seized and executed as rebels; his party also had caught the angry spirit of their leader, and numerous acts of violence occurred. Historians of every party have agreed in their representations of this transaction, and it has left a stain on the memory of Coote. This we cannot pretend to efface; we are not inclined to make any concession to the exaggerations of the party historians on either side, but we equally revolt from the affectation of candour which compromises the truth, for the sake of preserving the appearance of fairness. Coote has been the scape-goat of impartiality. Leland, who is in general truth itself in his historic details, and more free from bias than any historian of Ireland, mentions his conduct in terms of denunciation—which we should not advert to did they not involve some injustice. The following is Leland's statement: "this man was employed by the chief governors to drive some of the insurgents of Leinster from the castle of Wicklow which they had invested; he executed his commission, repelled the Irish to their mountains, and in revenge of their depredations committed such unprovoked, such ruthless, and indiscriminate carnage in the town, as rivalled the utmost extravagance of the northerns. This wanton cruelty, instead of terrifying, served to exasperate the rebels, and to provoke them to severe retaliation."

We perfectly agree with those who consider that no personal resentments, or no crimes committed by other rebels elsewhere, can be called a justification of the cruelties inflicted upon the people of Wicklow, if it be assumed that they were not involved in the offence. And even if they were, we must admit that the conduct of Coote was violent, sanguinary, and beyond the limits of justice and discretion; it was unquestionably vindictive, perhaps also (for we have not seen any minute detail) brutal and savage. But we are bound to repel the affirmation that it was *unprovoked*, and the assumption that the sufferers were unoffending persons executed to gratify private revenge. We cannot suffer even Sir Charles Coote to be painted in gratuitous blackness, to balance Sir Phelim O'Neile in the scale of candour. Wicklow town was at the time a nest of rebellion, and the retreat of every

discontented spirit in Leinster. The oppression and rapine of the iniquitous castle-party, the agents and dependents of the lords-justices, had filled the strong tribes of the Byrnes, the Kavanagh's, the Tooles, and all who lived in their circle with well-grounded hostility; and few at the time in the town of Wicklow were free from liability to suspicion. To what extent Coote received informations, true or false, on which he acted in the heat of the moment, cannot be ascertained; that such must have been numerous and grounded on the facts is not to be doubted. It was Coote's notion that the exigency of the crisis (for such it then appeared) demanded the display of severe and exemplary justice; we differ from this opinion, but see no reason to call it worse than error. He therefore resolved on a stern duty, which would under the circumstances have been revolting to a humane spirit; but which harmonized well with the "*sæva indignatio*" of Coote. That he "committed such unprovoked, such ruthless, and indiscriminate carnage in the town as rivalled the utmost extravagance of the Northerners" is a statement that yet requires to be proved: we deny the charge.

The defeat of the English at Julianstown bridge, carried consternation to the government and inhabitants of Dublin. Coote was recalled from Wicklow to defend the metropolis; he obeyed the order. He had approached with his party within a few miles of Dublin, when his march was intercepted by Luke Toole, with a force generally supposed to amount to a thousand men. Coote's men amounted at most to four hundred, but the rebels were routed so quickly and with such slaughter that it is said, this incident made Coote an object of terror during the remainder of his life. He then resumed his march and was made governor of Dublin. He endeavoured to secure the city, a task attended with no small embarrassment; as the fortifications were in a state of utter dilapidation; the city wall had fallen into ruin and having been built four hundred years before, was ill adapted to the altered state of military resources.

While thus engaged, Coote was frequently called out into the surrounding districts, to repel incursions or repress manifestations of insurrection. On these occasions he was uniformly effective, but acted, there is reason to believe, with the fierce and thorough-working decision of his character. On the 15th of December he was called out by the report that three hundred armed men had plundered a vessel from England at Clontarf, and deposited their plunder in the house of Mr King, where they took up their quarters. For some time before, there had been a considerable disposition to insurrectionary movement along the whole coast, from Clontarf to the county of Meath. Plunder and piracy had become frequent under the relaxation of local jurisdiction, consequent upon the general terror; and the fears of the government at last awakened them to a sense of the necessity of guarding against so near a danger. Several of the gentry also of these districts had committed themselves by acts of no doubtful character; and it was with their known sanction that strong parties of armed men, were collected in Clontarf, Santry, Swords, Rathcoole, &c.: these parties committed numerous acts of violence and overawed the peaceful, while

they gave encouragement to the turbulent. The party here particularized was evidently under the sanction of Mr King, a gentleman of the popular party, in whose house they stored their plunder; they were in strict combination with the people of Clontarf, who had actually formed a part of their strength and joined them with their fishing boats. We mention these facts because the summary statement that Sir C. Coote expelled them from Clontarf, by burning both Mr King's house and the village, must otherwise place the act in a fallacious point of view. Coote acted in this as on every occasion with the sweeping severity of his harsh character; but the unpopularity of his character, and of the lords-justices to whom he was as an arm of defence, seems to have diverted the eye of history from the obvious fact, that in this, as upon many other occasions, he did no more than the emergency of the occasion called for.

It was but a few days after that he was compelled to march to the relief of Swords, which was occupied by 1400 men. They barricaded all the entrances. Coote forced these passages, and routed them with a slaughter of 200 men.

The known violence of Coote, while it made him the instrument of the government in many questionable acts and many acts of decided injustice, also exposed him to much calumny, the certain reward of unpopularity. Among other things, a report was spread, that he had at the council board expressed his opinion for a general massacre of the Roman catholics; this report was alleged as an excuse by the lords of that communion, for refusing to trust themselves into the hands of the Irish government.* These noblemen had unquestionably real grounds for their distrust of the lords-justices, and thought it necessary to find some pretext for the prudent refusal. But they could not seriously have entertained a motion so revolting. The pretext, though perhaps, too frivolous for the persons who used it, was, nevertheless, highly adapted for the further purpose of working upon the fear and anger of the multitude; who are ignorant, that however self-interest and vicious passions may warp the hearts and understandings of the upper ranks, there is too much knowledge of right and wrong among them to permit of so open an outrage to humanity, among persons pretending to the dignity of the lords-justices and council. It is very likely that Coote, who was a rude soldier and an irritable man, used language which, used by a person of more sedateness of temper, would have borne a harsh construction; but we see no reason to admit that he either contemplated the crime described, or that any one present could have reasonably so reported his language. The lords-justices in reply to the letter of the lords of the pale, assured them that they never "did hear Sir Charles or any other, utter at the council board or elsewhere, any speeches tending to a purpose or resolution, to execute on those of their profession or any other a general massacre; nor was it ever in their thoughts to dishonour his Majesty or the state by so odious, impious, and detestable a

* Letter signed Fingal, Gormanstown, Slane, Dunsany, Netherville, Oliver, Louth, Trimleston.

thing. Giving them assurance of their safety if they would repair thither, the 17th of that month."*

With such a reputation for violence and cruelty, it was unfortunate for Sir Charles Coote and for the country, that as military governor of the city, it devolved to him to try the prisoners then under the charge of rebellion in Dublin. He was an unfit instrument, and had neither the prudence nor temper for so delicate an occasion. To make the matter worse, it remains at best doubtful, whether the occasion demanded the substitution of martial law for the ordinary jurisdiction of the criminal courts. The ground assigned was the great accumulation of prisoners, and the impossibility of obtaining juries from the counties where the crimes were alleged to have been committed. Carte remarks on this that they had juries from Meath, Wicklow, and Kildare, as well as from Dublin; and according to his statement of their conduct, we think it may be doubted whether the parties tried before them gained much by the preservation of form; for Meath, Wicklow, and Dublin, "within two days afterwards, bills of high treason were found against all the lords and prime gentlemen, as also against three hundred persons of quality and estate in the county of Kildare: among which were the old countess of Kildare, Sir Nicholas White, his son, captain White, who had never joined the rebels—so much expedition was used in this affair."† To preserve the escheats of property, which had always a due share of consideration with the government, the persons of property were exempted from martial law, and it was easy to find juries to the extent required. The poor were ordered to be tried by the more expeditious and summary method. But we must here remark, that the *injustice* is not the real ground of objection to this course. The main part of the prisoners had been taken in arms, and at any time would have been amenable to martial law: but the act was cruel and imprudent, for the wholesale and summary conviction of a multitude of deluded peasants could answer no end. If it was not vindictive, which we cannot believe, it is chiefly to be censured as a shallow mistake: when the cruelty of punishment is more revolting than its justice is apparent, the indignation and sympathy of the multitude takes the place of submission and fear. The instrumentality of one so feared and so unpopular as Coote, cast an added shade of darkness upon this measure. Among the persons thus tried were several Roman catholic priests; and from this the exasperation of the populace was the more to be apprehended. These gentlemen were very generally accused of exciting the people to rebellion: how far such an accusation could be rigidly maintained, we cannot decide, but it is easy to feel the unhappy embarrassment under which such cases would be likely to present themselves to the feelings of a just and humane jury; for in very many such instances, where the priest has been the leader, his entire conduct has been directed to soften the horrors of rebellion, and to save its victims. The history of "ninety-eight" supplies examples enough. But father O'Higgins, the victim of 1641, was a "quiet, inoffensive, and pious man, much respected by those who knew him, who

* Borlase.

† Carte, I. 278, note.

efficiated at Naas, and in the neighbourhood. He had distinguished himself in saving the English in those parts from slaughter and plunder, and had relieved several that had been stripped and robbed. The earl of Ormonde found him at Naas, took him under his protection, he never having been concerned in any act of rebellion, nor guilty of any crime, nor liable to any objection, but the matter of his religion; and brought him along with him to Dublin.* Some time after, while lord Ormonde was absent from town, the proceedings here described commenced, and the unfortunate O'Higgins was seized, condemned, and executed. This shameful act was near drawing on Coote the punishment which his inconsiderate violence deserved. The earl of Ormonde, who was lieutenant-general of the kingdom, was indignant when he heard of the fate of his protégé, and immediately insisted on the trial of Coote, as an offender against the laws of the land. The lords-justices were unwilling to give up the man on whose military talent and bravery they chiefly rested their trust, and who, they were conscious, was but their instrument in a station of the duties of which he was wholly ignorant. The earl of Ormonde expostulated with them in vain, and even threatened to throw up his office: they apologized, and temporized, and invented lame excuses, until it was plain that they were not to be persuaded by threats or entreaties: and Coote escaped. But the act which was thus made additionally notorious, produced a pernicious effect among the Roman catholic aristocracy and gentry, whose fears it appeared strongly to confirm.†

The next affair of any importance in which Coote is found engaged, occurred on the 3d February, when he accompanied the earl of Ormonde to Kilsaleghan, within seven miles of Dublin, against a strong army of rebels whom they drove from their entrenchments and routed completely: the particulars belong to our memoir of the earl of Ormonde.

In the beginning of March the earl of Ormonde left Dublin, to march against the rebels in the county of Kildare. During his march, detachments were sent out on various services, under the chief officers of his army. On the 10th April, Coote was sent with six troops of horse to the relief of Birr. On the way they came to a causeway which the rebels had broken up and fortified with a trench, which they occupied. The post was formidable, and the passage appeared quite impracticable to persons of ordinary nerve: Coote here nobly maintained his known character for decision and unflinching intrepidity, alighting from his horse, he selected forty of his troopers, with whom he proceeded on foot against the rebels. The smallness of his party threw them in some degree off their guard: they scorned to take the full advantages of their wooded and entrenched position against forty dismounted troops: but these troopers were soldiers, led by an officer of first rate proof

* Carte.

† It is here but just to state, that there were other causes likely to produce the same effect. The excesses of the rebels had by this time amounted to a frightful sum. The list of murders through the country was not less than 154,000 between the 23d October, 1642, and March, 1643.—*Dr Maxwell's Examination.*

and the coolest hardihood, whose presence doubled every man's strength. Without the loss of a single man, Coote and his brave party slew the captain of the rebels, with forty of his men: went on and relieved Birr, Borris, and Knocknamease, and after forty-eight hours' incessant riding and fighting, returned to the camp. "This," writes Cox, "was the prodigious passage through Montrath woods, which is indeed wonderful in many respects." From this adventure, the title of earl of Montrath was conferred afterwards on his son.

He was also soon after distinguished at the battle of Kilrush, between the forces under the earl of Ormonde, and the rebels commanded by the lord Mountgarret. There Coote led the foot, and had no small share in the signal victory of that day. We shall hereafter relate it at length.

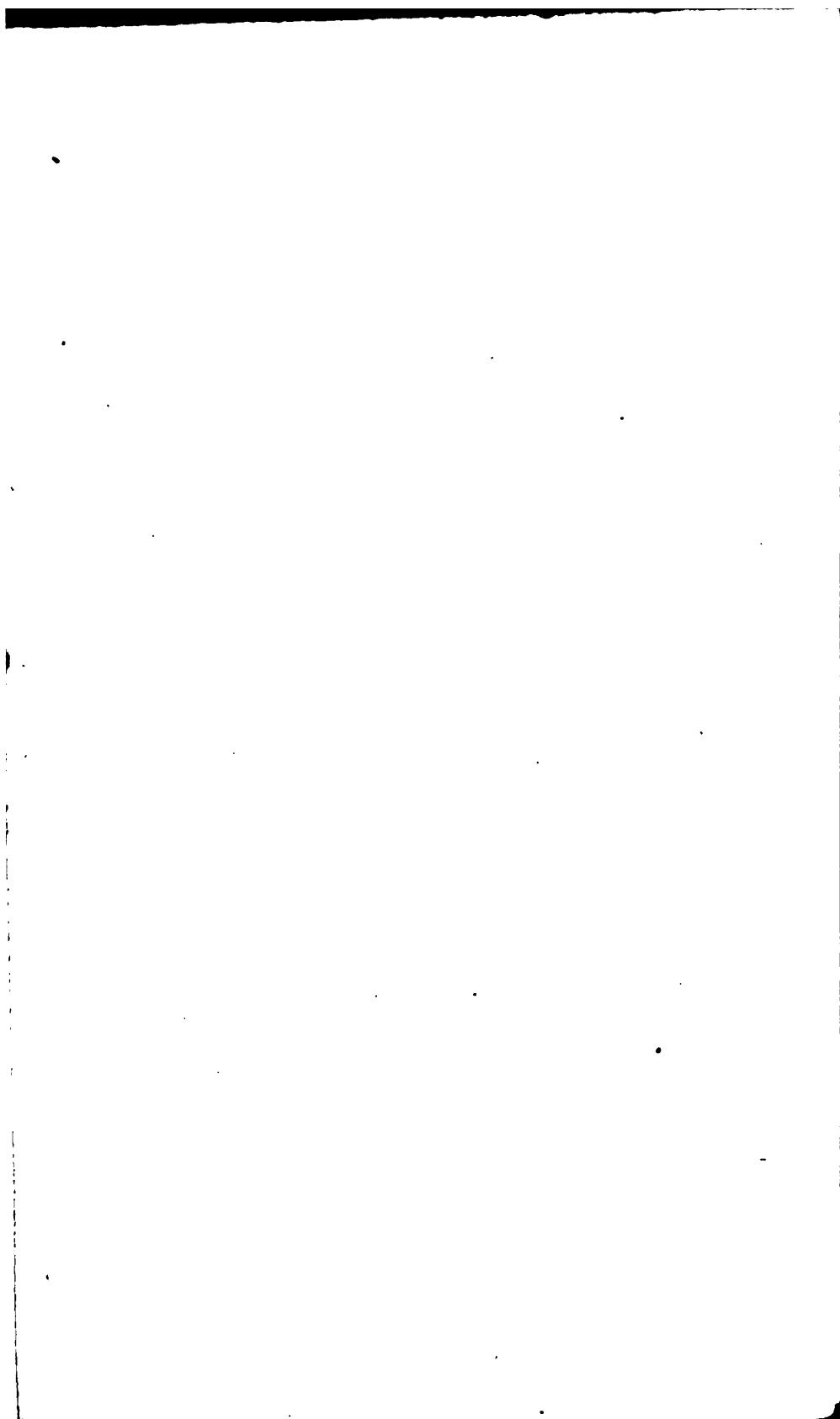
Some time after, he joined lord Lisle, to relieve the castle of Geashill, where the lady Letitia Offaley had for some time been besieged by the rebels. This noble lady, a Geraldine, and grand-daughter of the earl of Kildare, though in her 64th year, shut her gates against the rebels, and, with the bravery of her race, prepared to defend her castle. She was summoned to surrender, with a threat from the rebels that, upon her refusal, they would burn the town, and massacre man, woman, and child. To this dastardly menace, the heroic lady replied, that she had always lived among them as a good neighbour and a loyal subject: that she would die innocently as she had lived, and if necessary, would endeavour to defend her town. Being however influenced by the humanity natural to her sex and rank, she remained on the defensive, and the rebels who were still collecting might in the end have added another illustrious victim to the murders of this fatal year, when happily the party of lord Lisle and Coote came up, and relieved her from her peril.

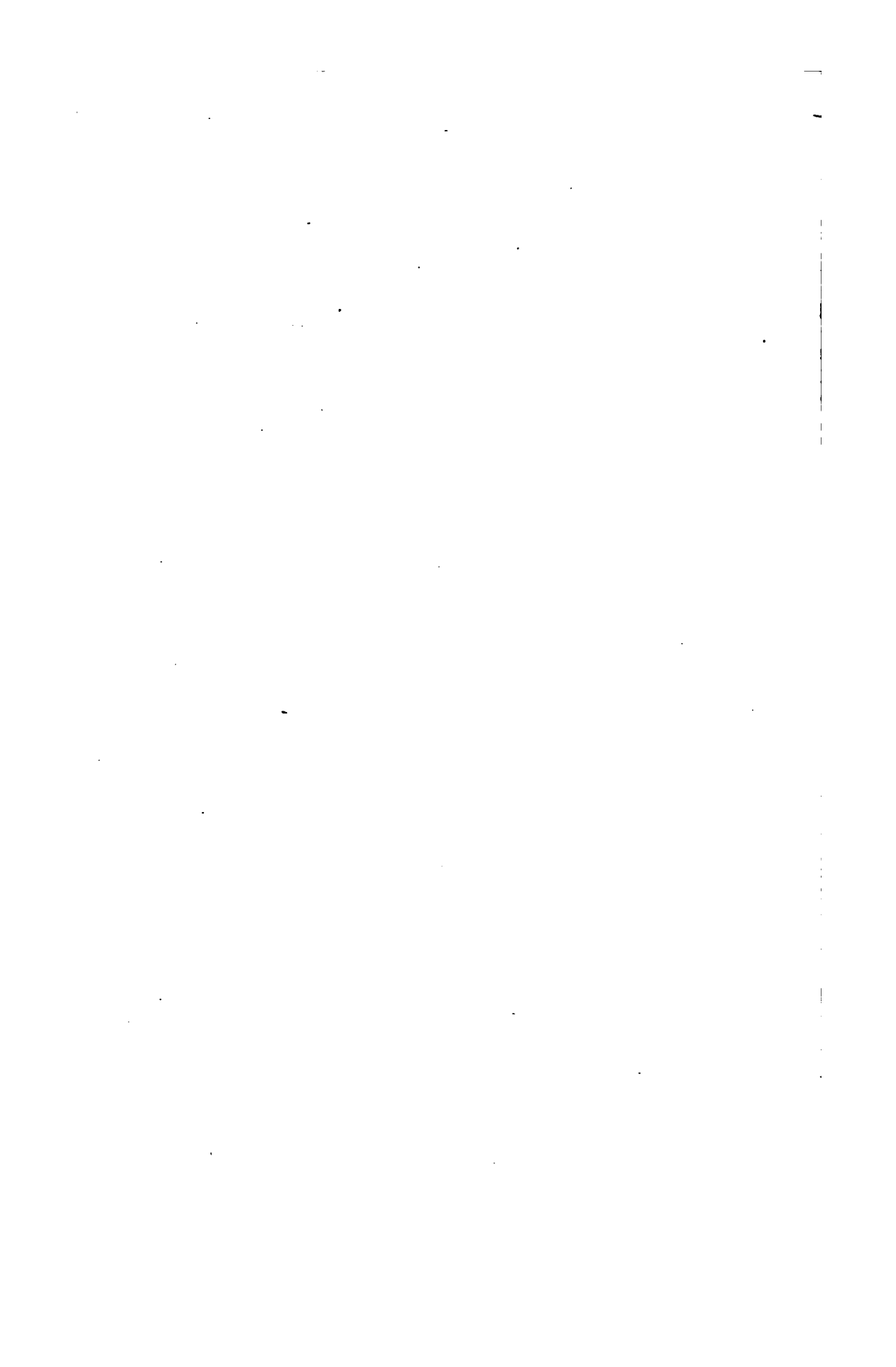
The next place to be relieved was Philipstown. On this occasion a characteristic story is told of Coote. Having to march for that purpose through a difficult and dangerous country, the general called a council. The difficulties being strongly pressed, Coote, who was not of a temper to admit of difficulties, observed, that "if they made haste, they might easily pass the defiles and causeways before the enemy could get together to oppose them." This was admitted, but the question next proposed was, "how they should get back?" "I protest," answered Coote, "I never thought of that in my life; I always have considered how to do my business, and when that was done, I got home again as well as I could, and hitherto I have not missed of forcing my way."

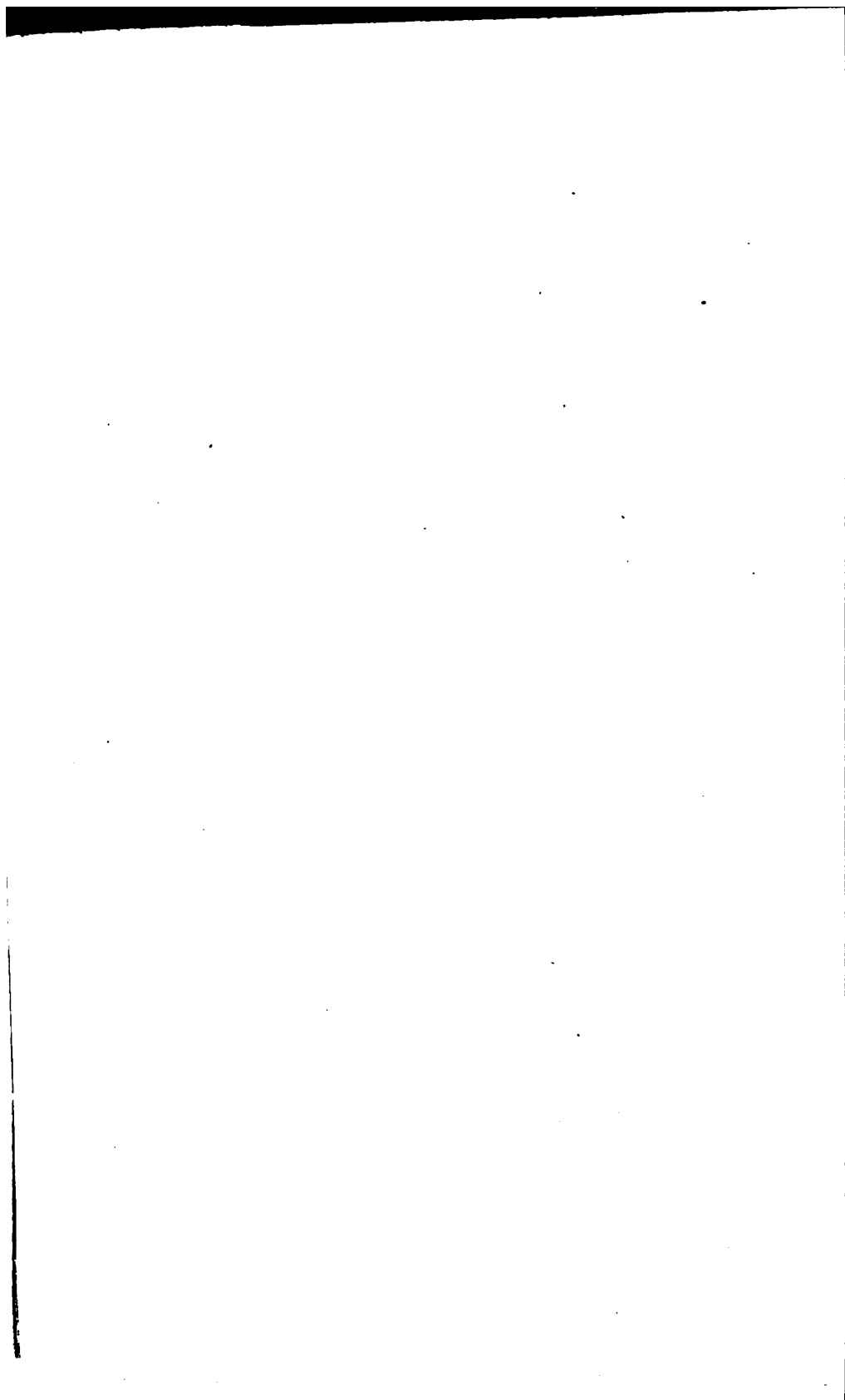
The advice was taken, and the result thoroughly successful; but the time had come when Coote was himself to be deserted by his usual good fortune. They took Philipstown, and pursued their way to Trim, where a large party of rebels had drawn together. On their approach the rebels retired, and they took possession of the town. Lord Lisle immediately took his departure to Dublin to procure sufficient men to leave a garrison in the town. Night drew on, and all seemed still until midnight, when the rebels, to the number of three thousand, returned to attack the wearied party of troopers, who little expected such

an interruption to their well earned rest. Coote was too watchful to be caught asleep. On receiving the alarm from his sentinel, he collected seventeen troopers, and rushed out to take possession of the gate. Thus he was enabled to secure a retreat for his party who quickly came up. They then issued from the gate, and charging the disorderly crowd, at once put them to flight in every direction. But a shot either from the flying crowd, or from the town, or as some historians appear to conjecture, from his own party, killed Sir Charles Coote. This event occurred 7th May, 1642. The next day his body was sent to Dublin, under a strong guard.

END OF VOLUME II.







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